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Henry St.ᵗ John. Viscount Bolingbroke.

London. Published Sept.ʳ 30. 1808. by T. Caddell & W. Davies. Strand.

THE

WORKS

OF THE LATE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY ST. JOHN

LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

WITH

THE LIFE

OF

LORD BOLINGBROKE

BY DR. GOLDSMITH,

NOW ENLARGED BY MORE RECENT INFORMATION
RELATIVE TO HIS PUBLICK AND PERSONAL CHARACTER,
SELECTED FROM VARIOUS AUTHORITIES.

A NEW EDITION,

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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ERRATA.

P. 101. l. 4. from the bottom, *for* wit *read* whit.

215. l. 7. *for* he *read* we.

ADVERTISEMENT.

ALTHOUGH it has been thought proper to retain Dr. Goldsmith's elegant Life of Lord Bolingbroke in the present edition of his works, the length of time which has elapsed since that Life was written rendered it necessary, to add many particulars, that have transpired within the last thirty years. These have been selected from the various authorities quoted, and especially from the Letters published lately by the reverend Gilbert Parke, which contain much information respecting the memorable peace of Utrecht. Unfortunately, they break off at the period of the Queen's death. Could another connected series of his lordship's confidential correspondence be recovered, his political character might be freed from obscurity, and very probably from much of the obloquy thrown upon it by the connexions of the Walpole family.

The opinions of those who have offered to delineate his conduct, and which are collected among these additions to his life, however contradictory, show that he was considered by all as a politician of an important class—that those who have been at most pains to defame him as an enemy, would have been very desirous to secure him as a friend; and that they may be credited in

every thing, sooner than in their affecting to undervalue his almost unrivalled talents.

In the compilation of these articles, no concealment has been made, which can affect his character where it was obviously blamable. Like Chesterfield and Hume, he left something behind him worse than he had produced in his lifetime, and subjected himself to accusations to which he could no longer reply. The documents now collected, and others which are referred to, may incline the reader to pause on the merits of a character, that appears to have suffered equally by the just resentment of piety, and by the unforgiving prejudices of party; and they may, it is hoped, suggest to some future writer, of candour and talents, that an impartial life of lord Bolingbroke is yet a *desideratum*.

January 1809.

THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

[Prefixed to the Edition of 1777.]

WHATEVER may have been the decision of the publick, concerning the philosophical works of lord Bolingbroke, it is universally agreed, that his political writings contain a perfect system of practical politicks; written with an energy of style, and a strength of reasoning, not to be found in the essays of our most celebrated writers upon government.

Beside these qualifications, requisite in an author, who presumes to dictate in matters of which every man thinks himself a competent judge, lord Bolingbroke has enlivened his subject with a brilliancy of wit, and a poignancy of raillery, which gives an embellishment to his style, and a relish to his argument, and serves to take off that dryness incidental to logical deduction.

But, indeed, the intrinsick value of these works chiefly consists in the great variety of admirable and judicious observations upon our historical transactions and state revolutions; which form, all together, an excellent and rational commentary upon the constitution of this kingdom.

He that would apply proper remedies to the mischiefs flowing from accidental breaches in our happy establishment, and which derive their origin from the violent prejudices of party, and the blind rage of faction; from the weakness and wickedness of ministers, from the corruption of parliaments, and the encroachment of prerogative, must seek for them in these volumes.

Bolingbroke was no speculative writer, who, by ransacking the records of musty books, forms fine-spun schemes of Utopian government in his closet. No; he was a vigorous agent, and skilful conductor, and in the most difficult and trying emergencies of the state. He tells us no more than what he knew, and advises nothing but what he put in practice himself.

He was well apprised that his writings would be examined with the most piercing and jealous eye, and with the most inquisitorial and malevolent spirit; he, therefore, composed his Essays with a design to form a lasting and regular plan of political ratiocination, which might, at all times, be serviceable to his country; and prove a warning and a lesson, in his own age, to those who equally dreaded and admired his abilities.

It is a common, though, perhaps, useless piece of curiosity, to enter into a discussion, of which is the best composition of a great writer, among many others almost equally good.

An ingenious gentleman, who has lately favoured the publick with some curious anecdotes relating to lord Bolingbroke, asserts, in very positive terms, that his Letter to sir William Wyndham is his great masterpiece.

It cannot be denied, that this is a very elaborate performance, and contains a very artful, as well as spirited vindication of Bolingbroke's conduct, in the most critical part of his life. But however meritorious this letter may be, when considered in a certain view, and as an absolute detection of the folly and absurdity of jacobitical and high tory principles; it cannot be deemed a work altogether so useful and interesting to the community, as treatises written with a design to point out essential errours in government, to rectify the mistakes and blunders of ministers, and to expose, in proper colours, their corrupt and iniquitous proceedings; to recover our lost constitution, by bringing it back to first principles, and to fix it on a durable basis, by proving the necessity of the independency of one branch of the legislature on the other. It is plain then this tract cannot, from the inferiority of the subject, be justly compared either to "Oldcastle's Remarks on the History of England;" the "Dissertation on Parties;" or, "The Idea of a Patriot King."

Dr. Goldsmith, in his short, but elegant, Life of Lord Bolingbroke, has indeed observed, that in

in his inimitable work of the "Dissertation on Parties," this great writer had summoned up the whole vigour of his mind, and designed it as a parting blow to Walpole and his adherents.

Dr. Hunter, in his sketch of the philosophical character of lord Bolingbroke, bestows great and just encomiums on his "Political Works;" but, after some reasonable deductions from the merit of his notions respecting the sacred writings, he seems to give the preference, on the whole, to his "Letters on the Study and Use of History."

Lord Chesterfield, in a letter to his son, Mr. Stanhope, extols to the skies, "The Spirit of Patriotism, and The Idea of a Patriot King." This work he recommends as a perfect model of style; and frankly confesses, that he was unacquainted with the extent and power of the English language, till he read that book.

From these several opinions of ingenious and eminent authors, we may reasonably conclude, that the political writings of Bolingbroke are the powerful efforts of a great genius, long exercised in business; that they are not only remarkable for vigour of style, but valuable for their usefulness to society. It is evident, that they are the deliberate and mature thoughts of a man, who had surveyed, with accuracy, the several forms of ancient and modern government, and preferred that

that of his own country to them all. And, lastly, that he laboured with ardour and sincerity to establish the constitution of this kingdom on the best and firmest foundation; the equal maintenance of the legal prerogative of the crown, and the just rights and privileges of the people.

C.

January 1777.

THE LIFE OF HENRY LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

BY DR. GOLDSMITH.

THERE are some characters that seem formed by nature to take delight in struggling with opposition, and whose most agreeable hours are passed in storms of their own creating. The Subject of the present sketch was perhaps of all others the most indefatigable in raising himself enemies, to show his power in subduing them; and was not less employed in improving his superior talents, than in finding objects on which to exercise their activity. His life was spent in a continued conflict of politics; and, as if that was too short for the combat, he has left his memory as a subject of lasting contention.

It is indeed no easy matter to preserve an acknowledged impartiality, in talking of a man so differently regarded on account of his po-

 litical,

litical, as well as his religious principles. Those whom his politics may please, will be sure to condemn him for his religion; and on the contrary, those most strongly attached to his theological opinions, are the most likely to decry his politics. On whatever side he is regarded, he is sure to have opposers, and this was perhaps what he most desired, having from nature a mind better pleased with the struggle than the victory.

HENRY ST. JOHN, LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE,

Was born in the year 1672, at Battersea in Surrey, at a seat that had been in the possession of his ancestors for ages before. His family was of the first rank, equally conspicuous for it's antiquity, dignity, and large possessions. It is found to trace it's original as high as Adam de Port, Baron of Basing in Hampshire, before the Conquest; and in a succession of ages to have produced warriors, patriots, and statesmen, some of whom were conspicuous for their loyalty, and others for their defending the rights of the people. His grandfather, Sir Walter St. John, of Battersea, marrying one of the daughters of lord chief justice St. John, who as all know was strongly attached to the republican

republican party, HENRY, the subject of the present memoir, was brought up in his family, and consequently imbibed the first principles of his education among the dissenters. At that time Daniel Burgess, a fanatic of a very peculiar kind, being at once possessed of zeal and humour, and as well known for the archness of his conceits as the furious obstinacy of his principles, was confessor in the presbyterian way to his grandmother, and was appointed to direct our Author's first studies. Nothing is so apt to disgust a feeling mind as mistaken zeal; and perhaps the absurdity of the first lectures he received might have given him that contempt for all religions, which he might have justly conceived against one. Indeed no task can be more mortifying than that he was condemned to undergo: "I was obliged," says he in one place, "while yet a boy, to read over the "commentaries of Dr. Manton, whose pride "it was to have made a hundred and nine-"teen sermons, on the hundred and nine-"teenth psalm." Dr. Manton and his sermons were not likely to prevail much on one, who was, perhaps, the most sharp-sighted in the world at discovering the absurdities of others, however he might have been guilty of establishing many of his own.

But these dreary institutions were of no very long continuance; as soon as it was fit to take him out of the hands of the women, he was sent to Eton school, and removed thence to Christchurch college in Oxford. His genius and understanding were seen and admired in both these seminaries, but his love of pleasure had so much the ascendency, that he seemed contented rather with the consciousness of his own great powers, than their exertion. However his friends, and those who knew him most intimately, were thoroughly sensible of the extent of his mind; and when he left the university, he was considered as one who had the fairest opportunity of making a shining figure in active life.

Nature seemed not less kind to him in her external embellishments, than in adorning his mind. With the graces of a handsome person, and a face in which dignity was happily blended with sweetness, he had a manner of address that was very engaging. His vivacity was always awake, his apprehension was quick, his wit refined, and his memory amazing: his subtlety in thinking and reasoning were profound, and all these talents were adorned with an elocution that was irresistible.

To

To the assemblage of so many gifts from nature it was expected, that art would soon give her finishing hand; and that a youth begun in excellence would soon arrive at perfection: but such is the perverseness of human nature, that an age, which should have been employed in the acquisition of knowledge, was dissipated in pleasure, and instead of aiming to excel in praiseworthy pursuits, Bolingbroke seemed more ambitious of being thought the greatest rake about town. This period might have been compared to that of fermentation in liquors, which grow muddy before they brighten; but it must also be confessed, that those liquors which never ferment are seldom clear. In this state of disorder he was not without his lucid intervals; and even while he was noted for keeping Miss Gumley, the most expensive prostitute in the kingdom, and bearing the greatest quantity of wine without intoxication, he even then despised his paltry ambition. "The love of study," says he, "and desire of knowledge, were what "I felt all my life; and though my genius, "unlike the dæmon of Socrates, whispered so "softly, that very often I heard him not in "the hurry of these passions with which I "was transported, yet some calmer hours

" there were, and in them I hearkened to " him." These secret admonitions were indeed very few, since his excesses are remembered to this very day. I have spoke to an old man, who assured me, that he saw him and another of his companions run naked through the Park, in a fit of intoxication; but then it was a time when publick decency might be transgressed with less danger than at present.

During this period, as all his attachments were to pleasure, so his studies only seemed to lean that way. His first attempts were in poetry, in which he discovers more wit than taste, more labour than harmony in his versification. We have a copy of his verses prefixed to Dryden's Virgil, complimenting the poet, and praising his translation. We have another not so well known, prefixed to a French work, published in Holland, by the Chevalier de St. Hyacinth, entitled, le Chef-d'-Oeuvre d'un Inconnu. This performance is an humourous piece of criticism upon a miserable old ballad, and Bolingbroke's compliment, though written in English, is printed in Greek characters, so that at the first glance it may deceive the eye, and be mistaken for real Greek. There are two or three things more of

of his composition, which have appeared since his death, but which do honour neither to his parts nor to his memory.

In this mad career of pleasure he continued for some time; but at length in 1700, when he arrived at the twenty-eighth year of his age, he began to take a dislike to his method of living, and to find that sensual pleasure alone was not sufficient, to make the happiness of a reasonable creature. He therefore made his first effort to break from his state of infatuation, by marrying the daughter and coheiress of sir Henry Winchescomb, a descendant from the famous Jack of Newbury, who, though but a clothier in the reign of Henry VIII, was able to entertain the king and all his retinue in the most splendid manner. This lady was possessed of a fortune exceeding forty thousand pounds, and was not deficient in mental accomplishments; but whether he was not yet fully satiated with his former pleasures, or whether her temper was not conformable to his own, it is certain they were far from living happily together. After cohabiting for some time together, they parted by mutual consent, both equally displeased; he complaining of the obstinacy of her temper, she of the shamelessness of his infidelity. A great part of her

fortune some time after upon his attainder was given her back, but as her family estates were settled upon him, he enjoyed them after her death, upon the reversal of his attainder.

Having taken a resolution to quit the allurements of pleasure for the stronger attractions of ambition, soon after his marriage he procured a seat in the house of commons, being elected for the borough of Wotton-Basset, in Wiltshire, his father having served several times for the same place. Beside his natural endowments and his large fortune, he had other very considerable advantages, that gave him weight in the senate, and seconded his views of preferment. His grandfather sir Walter St. John was still alive, and that gentleman's interest was so great in his own county of Wilts, that he represented it in two parliaments in a former reign. His father also was then the representative for the same, and the interest of his wife's family in the house was very extensive. Thus Bolingbroke took his seat with many accidental helps, but his chief and great resource lay in his own extensive abilities.

At that time the whig and the tory parties were strongly opposed in the house, and pretty nearly balanced. In the latter years of

of King William, the tories, who from every motive were opposed to the court, had been gaining popularity, and now began to make a public stand against their competitors. Robert Harley, afterward earl of Oxford, a staunch and confirmed tory, was in the year 1700 chosen speaker of the house of commons, and was continued in the same upon the accession of Queen Anne, the year ensuing. Bolingbroke had all along been bred up, as was before observed, among the dissenters, his friends leaned to that persuasion, and all his connexions were in the whig interest. However, either from principle, or from perceiving the tory party to be then gaining ground, while the whigs were declining, he soon changed his connexions, and joined himself to Harley, for whom he then had the greatest esteem: nor did he bring him his vote alone, but his opinion; which even before the end of his first session he rendered very considerable, the house perceiving even in so young a speaker the greatest eloquence, united with the profoundest discernment. The year following he was again chosen anew for the same borough, and persevered in his former attachments, by which he gained such an authority and influence in the house, that it was thought proper to reward his merit; and

and on the 10th of April 1704, he was appointed secretary at war, and of the marines, his friend Harley having a little before been made secretary of state.

The tory party being thus established in power, it may easily be supposed, that every method would be used to depress the whig interest, and to prevent it from rising; yet so much justice was done even to merit in an enemy, that the duke of Marlborough, who might be considered as at the head of the opposite party, was supplied with all the necessaries for carrying on the war in Flanders with vigour; and it is remarkable, that the greatest events of his campaigns, such as the battles of Blenheim and Ramillies, and several glorious attempts made by the duke to shorten the war by some decisive action, fell out while Bolingbroke was secretary at war. In fact, he was a sincere admirer of that great general, and avowed it upon all occasions to the last moment of his life: he knew his faults, he admired his virtues, and had the boast of being instrumental in giving lustre to those triumphs, by which his own power was in a manner overthrown.

As the affairs of the nation were then in as fluctuating a state as at present, Harley, after maintaining

maintaining the lead for above three years, was in his turn obliged to submit to the whigs, who once more became the prevailing party, and he was compelled to resign the seals. The friendship between him and Bolingbroke seems at this time to have been sincere and disinterested; for the latter chose to follow his fortune, and the next day resigned his employments in the administration, following his friend's example, and setting an example at once of integrity and moderation. As an instance of this, when his coadjutors the tories were for carrying a violent measure in the house of commons, in order to bring the princess Sophia into England, Bolingbroke so artfully opposed it, that it dropped without a debate. For this his moderation was praised, but perhaps at the expense of his sagacity.

For some time the whigs seemed to have gained a complete triumph, and upon the election of a new parliament, in the year 1708, Bolingbroke was not returned. The interval which followed of above two years he employed in the severest study; and this recluse period he ever after used to consider as the most active and serviceable of his whole life. But his retirement was soon interrupted, by the prevailing of his party once more; for the whig

whig parliament being dissolved in the year 1710, he was again chosen, and Harley being made chancellor, and under-treasurer of the exchequer, the important post of secretary of state was given to our author, in which he discovered a degree of genius and assiduity, that perhaps have never been known to be united in one person to the same degree.

The English annals scarce produce a more trying juncture, or that required such various abilities to regulate. He was then placed in a sphere, where he was obliged to conduct the machine of state, struggling with a thousand various calamities: a desperate and enraged party, whose characteristic it has ever been to bear none in power but themselves; a war conducted by an able general, his professed opponent, and whose victories only tended to render him every day more formidable; a foreign enemy, possessed of endless resources, and seeming to gather strength from every defeat; an insidious alliance, that wanted only to gain the advantages of victory, without contributing to the expenses of the combat; a weak declining mistress, that was led by every report, and seemed ready to listen to whatever was said against him; still more, a gloomy, indolent, and suspicious colleague, that envied his power,

and

and hated him for his abilities: these were a part of the difficulties, that Bolingbroke had to struggle with in office, and under which he was to conduct the treaty of peace of Utrecht, which was considered as one of the most complicated negotiations that history can afford. But nothing seemed too great for his abilities and industry; he set himself to the undertaking with spirit: he began to pave the way to the intended treaty, by making the people discontented at the continuance of the war; for this purpose he employed himself in drawing up accurate computations of the numbers of our own men, and that of foreigners employed in it's destructive progress. He even wrote in the Examiners, and other periodical papers of the times, showing how much of the burden rested upon England, and how little was sustained by those who falsely boasted their alliance. By these means, and after much debate in the house of commons, the queen received a petition from parliament, showing the hardships the allies had put upon England in carrying on this war, and consequently how necessary it was to apply relief to so ill-judged a connexion. It may be easily supposed, that the Dutch, against whom this petition was chiefly levelled, did all that was

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in their power to oppose it; many of the foreign courts also, with whom we had any transactions, were continually at work to defeat the minister's intentions. Memorial was delivered after memorial; the people of England, the parliament, and all Europe were made acquainted with the injustice and the dangers of such a proceeding: however Bolingbroke went on with steadiness and resolution, and although the attacks of his enemies at home might have been deemed sufficient to employ his attention, yet he was obliged, at the same time that he furnished materials to the press in London, to furnish instructions to all our ministers and ambassadors abroad, who would do nothing but in pursuance of his directions. As an orator, in the senate he exerted all his eloquence, he stated all the great points that were brought before the house, he answered the objections that were made by the leaders of the opposition; and all this with such success, that even his enemies, while they opposed his power, acknowledged his abilities. Indeed such were the difficulties he had to encounter, that we find him acknowledging himself some years after, that he never looked back on this great event, past as it was, without a secret emotion of mind, when he com-

pared the vastness of the undertaking, and the importance of the success, with the means employed to bring it about, and with those which were adopted to frustrate his intentions.

While he was thus industriously employed, he was not without the rewards that deserved to follow such abilities, joined to so much assiduity. In July 1712, he was created Baron. St. John, of Lidyard Tregoze, in Wiltshire, and Viscount Bolingbroke, by the last of which titles he is now generally known, and is likely to be talked of by posterity: he was also the same year appointed lord lieutenant of the county of Essex. By the titles of Tregoze and Bolingbroke he united the honours of the elder and younger branch of his family; and thus transmitted into one channel the opposing interests of two races, that had been distinguished one for their loyalty to king Charles I, the other for their attachment to the parliament that opposed him. It was afterward his boast, that he steered clear of the extremes for which his ancestors had been distinguished, having kept the spirit of freedom of the one, and acknowledged the subordination that distinguished the other.

Bolingbroke, being thus raised very near the summit

summit of power, began to perceive more nearly the defects of him who was placed there. He now began to find, that lord Oxford, whose party he had followed, and whose person he had esteemed, was by no means so able or so industrious as he supposed him to be. He now began from his heart to renounce the friendship, which he once had for his coadjutor; he began to imagine him treacherous, mean, indolent, and invidious; he even began to ascribe his own promotion to Oxford's hatred, and to suppose that he was sent up to the house of lords only to render him contemptible. These suspicions were partly true, and partly suggested by Bolingbroke's own ambition; being sensible of his own superior importance and capacity, he could not bear to see another take the lead in public affairs, when he knew they owed their chief success to his own management. Whatever might have been his motives, whether of contempt, hatred, or ambition, it is certain an irreconcilable breach began between these two leaders of their party; their mutual hatred was so great, that even their own common interest, the vigour of their negotiations, and the safety of their friends, were entirely sacrificed to it. It was in vain that Swift, who was admitted

into

into their counsels, urged the unreasonable impropriety of their disputes; that while they were thus at variance within the walls, the enemy were making irreparable breaches without. Bolingbroke's antipathy was so great, that even success would have been hateful to him, if lord Oxford were to be a partner. He abhorred him to that degree, that he could not bear to be joined with him in any case; and even some time after, when the lives of both were aimed at, he could not think of concerting measures with him for their mutual safety, preferring even death itself to the appearance of a temporary friendship.

Nothing could have been more weak and injudicious, than their mutual animosities at this juncture; and it may be asserted with truth, that men, who were unable to suppress or conceal their resentments upon such a trying occasion, were unfit to take the lead in any measures, be their industry or their abilities ever so great. In fact, their dissensions were soon found to involve not only them, but their party in utter ruin; their hopes had for some time been declining, the whigs were daily gaining ground, and the queen's death soon after totally destroyed all their schemes with their power.

Upon the accession of George I to the throne, dangers began to threaten the late ministry on every side. Whether they had really intentions of bringing in the Pretender, or whether the whigs made it a pretext for destroying them, is uncertain; but the king very soon began to show, that they were to expect neither favour nor mercy at his hands. Upon his landing at Greenwich, when the court came to wait upon him, and lord Oxford among the number, he studiously avoided taking any notice of him, and testified his resentment by the caresses he bestowed upon the members of the opposite faction. A regency had been some time before appointed to govern the kingdom, and Addison was made secretary. Bolingbroke still maintained his place of state-secretary, but subject to the contempt of the great, and the insults of the mean. The first step taken by them to mortify him was to order all letters and packets directed to the secretary of state, to be sent to Mr. Addison; so that Bolingbroke was in fact removed from his office, that is, the execution of it, in two days after the queen's death. But this was not the worst, for his mortifications were continually heightened, by the daily humiliation of waiting

at

at the door of the apartment where the regency sat, with a bag in his hand, and being all the time, as it were, on purpose, exposed to the insolence of those, who were tempted by their natural malevolence, or who expected to make their court to those in power by abusing him.

Upon this sudden turn of fortune, when the seals were taken from him, he went into the country, and having received a message from court, to be present when the seal was taken from the door of the secretary's office, he excused himself, alleging, that so trifling a ceremony might as well be performed by one of the under secretaries, but at the same time requested the honour of kissing the king's hand, to whom he testified the utmost submission. This request however was rejected with disdain; the king had been taught to regard him as an enemy, and threw himself entirely on the whigs for safety and protection.

The new parliament, mostly composed of whigs, met the 17th of March; and in the king's speech from the throne many inflaming hints were given, and many methods of violence chalked out to the two houses. "The first steps," (says lord Bolingbroke,

speaking on this occasion) "in both were "perfectly answerable; and, to the shame "of the peerage be it spoken, I saw at that "time several lords concur, to condemn in "one general vote, all that they had ap- "proved in a former parliament, by many "particular resolutions. Among several "bloody resolutions proposed and agitated "at this time, the resolution of impeaching "me of high treason was taken; and I took "that of leaving England, not in a panick "terrour, improved by the artifices of the "duke of Marlborough, whom I knew even at "that time too well to act by his advice or "information in any case, but on such "grounds as the proceedings which soon "followed sufficiently justified, and such as "I have never repented building upon. "Those who blamed it in the first heat, "were soon after obliged to change their "language: for what other resolution could "I take? The method of prosecution de- "signed against me would have put me "out of a condition immediately to act for "myself, or to serve those who were less "exposed than I, but who were however "in danger. On the other hand, how few "were there on whose assistance I could de-

" pend, or to whom I would even in these
" circumstances be obliged! The ferment
" in the nation was wrought up to a consi-
" derable height; but there was at that
" time no reason to expect, that it could in-
" fluence the proceedings in parliament, in
" favour of those who should be accused:
" left to it's own movement, it was much
" more proper to quicken than slacken the
" prosecutions; and who was there to guide
" it's motions? The tories, who had been
" true to one another to the last, were a
" handful, and no great vigour could be ex-
" pected from them: the whimsicals, disap-
" pointed of the figure which they hoped to
" make, began indeed to join their old
" friends. One of the principal among
" them, namely, the earl of Anglesea, was
" so very good as to confess to me, that if
" the court had called the servants of the
" late queen to account, and stopped there,
" he must have considered himself as a judge,
" and acted according to his conscience, on
" what should have appeared to him: but
" that war had been declared to the whole
" tory party, and that now the state of
" things was altered. This discourse needed
" no commentary, and proved to me, that I

" had never erred in the judgment I made
" of this set of men. Could I then resolve
" to be obliged to them, or to suffer with
" Oxford? As much as I still was heated
" by the disputes, in which I had been all
" my life engaged against the whigs, I would
" sooner have chosen to owe my security to
" their indulgence, than to the assistance of
" the whimsicals: but I thought banishment,
" with all her train of evils, preferable to
" either."

Such was the miserable situation, to which he was reduced upon this occasion. Of all the number of his former flatterers and dependants, scarce one was found remaining. Every hour brought fresh reports of his alarming situation, and the dangers which threatened him and his party on all sides. Prior, who had been employed in negotiating the treaty of Utrecht, was come over to Dover, and had promised to reveal all he knew. The duke of Marlborough planted his creatures round his lordship, who artfully endeavoured to increase the danger; and an impeachment was actually preparing, in which he was accused of high treason. It argued therefore no great degree of timidity in his lordship, to take the first opportunity to

withdraw from danger, and to suffer the first boilings of popular animosity to quench the flame that had been raised against him: accordingly, having made a gallant show of despising the machinations against him, having appeared in a very unconcerned manner at the playhouse in Drury-lane, and having bespoke another play for the night ensuing; having subscribed to a new opera that was to be acted some time after, and talked of making an elaborate defence, he went off that same night in disguise to Dover, as a servant to le Vigne, a messenger belonging to the French king; and there one William Morgan, who had been a captain in General Hill's regiment of dragoons, hired a vessel, and carried him over to Calais, where the governor attended him in his coach, and carried him to his house with all possible distinction.

The news of lord Bolingbroke's flight was soon known over the whole town; and the next day, a letter from him to lord Lansdowne was handed about in print, to the following effect:

"My Lord,

"I left the town so abruptly, that I had

" no time to take leave of you or any of my
" friends. You will excuse me, when you
" know that I had certain and repeated in-
" formations, from some who are in the se-
" cret of affairs, that a resolution was taken
" by those who have power to execute it, to
" pursue me to the scaffold. My blood was
" to have been the cement of a new alliance,
" nor could my innocence be any security,
" after it had once been demanded from
" abroad, and resolved on at home, that it
" was necessary to cut me off. Had there
" been the least reason to hope for a fair and
" open trial, after having been already pre-
" judged unheard by two houses of parlia-
" ment, I should not have declined the
" strictest examination. I challenge the
" most inveterate of my enemies to produce
" any one instance of a criminal corre-
" spondence, or the least corruption of any
" part of the administration in which I was
" concerned. If my zeal for the honour
" and dignity of my royal mistress, and the
" true interest of my country, has any where
" transported me to let slip a warm or un-
" guarded expression, I hope the most fa-
" vourable interpretation will be put upon
" it. It is a comfort that will remain with me

" in

" in all my misfortunes, that I served her
" majesty faithfully and dutifully, in that
" especially which she had most at heart,
" relieving her people from a bloody and ex-
" pensive war; and that I have also been too
" much an Englishman, to sacrifice the in-
" terest of my country to any foreign ally;
" and it is for this crime only that I am
" now driven from thence. You shall hear
" more at large from me shortly.

" Yours," &c.

No sooner was it universally known, that he was retired to France, than his flight was construed into a proof of his guilt; and his enemies accordingly set about driving on his impeachment with redoubled alacrity. Mr., afterward sir Robert Walpole, who had suffered a good deal by his attachment to the whig interest during the former reign, now undertook to bring in and conduct the charge against him in the house of commons. His impeachment consisted of six articles, which Walpole read to the house, in substance as follows. First, That whereas the lord Bolingbroke had assured the Dutch ministers, that the queen his mistress would make no peace but in concert

concert with them, yet he had sent Mr. Prior to France, that same year, with proposals for a treaty of peace with that monarch, without the consent of the allies. Secondly, That he advised and promoted the making a separate treaty of convention with France, which was signed in September. Thirdly, That he disclosed to M. Mesnager, the French minister at London, this convention, which was the preliminary instructions to her majesty's plenipotentiaries at Utrecht. Fourthly, That her majesty's final instructions to her plenipotentiaries were disclosed by him to the abbot Gaultier, who was an emissary of France. Fifthly, That he disclosed to the French the manner how Tournay in Flanders might be gained by them. And lastly, That he advised and promoted the yielding up Spain and the West-Indies to the duke of Anjou, then an enemy to her majesty. These were urged by Walpole with great vehemence, and aggravated with all the eloquence of which he was master. He challenged any person in behalf of the accused, and asserted, that to vindicate, were in a manner to share his guilt. In this universal consternation of the tory party, none was for some time seen to stir; but at length

General

General Ross, who had received favours from his lordship, boldly stood up, and said he wondered that no man more capable was found to appear in defence of the Accused. However, in attempting to proceed, he hesitated so much that he was obliged to sit down, observing, that he would reserve what he had to say to another opportunity. It may easily be supposed, that the whigs found no great difficulty in passing the vote for his impeachment through the house of commons. It was brought into that house on the 10th of June 1715, and it was sent up to the house of lords on the 6th of August ensuing, in consequence of which he was attainted by them of high treason on the 10th of September. Nothing could be more unjust than such a sentence; but justice had been long drowned in the spirit of party.

Bolingbroke, thus finding all hopes cut off at home, began to think of improving his wretched fortune upon the continent. He had left England with a very small fortune, and his attainder totally cut off all resources for the future. In this depressed situation, he began to listen to some proposals which were made him by the Pretender, who was then residing at Barr, in France, and

and who was desirous of admitting Bolingbroke into his secret councils. A proposal of this nature had been made him shortly after his arrival at Paris, and before his attainder at home; but while he had yet any hopes of succeeding in England, he absolutely refused, and made the best applications his ruined fortune would permit, to prevent the extremity of his prosecution.

He had for some time waited for an opportunity of determining himself, even after he found it vain to think of making his peace at home. He let his Jacobite friends in England know, that they had but to command him, and he was ready to venture in their service the little all that remained, as frankly as he had exposed all that was gone. At length, (says he, talking of himself) these commands came, and were executed in the following manner. The person who was sent to me, arrived in the beginning of July 1715, at the place I had retired to in Dauphiné. He spoke in the name of all the friends, whose authority could influence me; and he brought me word, that Scotland was not only ready to take arms, but under some sort of dissatisfaction to be withheld from beginning: that in England the people were exasperated

exasperated against the government to such a degree, that far from wanting to be encouraged, they could not be restrained from insulting it on every occasion; that the whole tory party was become avowedly Jacobites; that many officers of the army, and the majority of the soldiers, were well affected to the cause; that the city of London was ready to rise, and that the enterprises for seizing of several places were ripe for execution; in a word, that most of the principal tories were in concert with the duke of Ormond: for I had pressed particularly to be informed whether his grace acted alone, or if not, who were his council; and that the others were so disposed, that there remained no doubt of their joining as soon as the first blow should be struck. He added, that my friends were a little surprised, to observe that I lay neuter in such a conjuncture. He represented to me the danger I ran of being prevented by people of all sides from having the merit of engaging early in this enterprise, and how unaccountable it would be for a man, impeached and attainted under the present government, to take no share in bringing about a revolution so near at hand, and so certain. He intreated that I would defer no longer to

join

join the Chevalier, to advise and assist in carrying on his affairs, and to solicit and negotiate at the court of France, where my friends imagined that I should not fail to meet a favourable reception, and from whence they made no doubt of receiving assistance in a situation of affairs so critical, so unexpected, and so promising. He concluded, by giving me a letter from the Pretender, whom he had seen in his way to me, in which I was pressed to repair without loss of time to Comercy; and this instance was grounded on the message which the bearer of the letter had brought me from England. In the progress of the conversation with the messenger, he related a number of facts, which satisfied me as to the general disposition of the people; but he gave me little satisfaction as to the measures taken to improve this disposition, for driving the business on with vigour, if it tended to a revolution, or for supporting it to advantage if it spun into a war. When I questioned him concerning several persons, whose disinclination to the government admitted no doubt, and whose names, quality, and experience were very essential to the success of the undertaking; he owned to me, that they kept a great reserve,

and

and did at most but encourage others to act by general and dark expressions. I received this account and this summons ill in my bed; yet important as the matter was, a few minutes served to determine me. The circumstances wanting to form a reasonable inducement to engage did not excuse me; but the smart of a bill of attainder tingled in every vein, and I looked on my party to be under oppression, and to call for my assistance. Beside which, I considered first that I should be certainly informed, when I conferred with the Chevalier, of many particulars unknown to this gentleman; for I did not imagine, that the English could be so near to take up arms as he represented them to be, on no other foundation than that which he exposed.

In this manner having for some time debated with himself, and taken his resolution, he lost no time in repairing to the Pretender at Comercy, and took the seals of that nominal king, as he had formerly those of his potent mistress. But this was a terrible falling off indeed; and the very first conversation he had with this weak projector gave him the most unfavourable expectations of future success. He talked to me (says his

lordship)

lordship) like a man who expected every moment to set out for England or Scotland, but who did not very well know for which; and when he entered into the particulars of his affairs, I found, that concerning the former, he had nothing more circumstantial or positive to go upon, than what I have already related. But the duke of Ormond had been for some time, I cannot say how long, engaged with the Chevalier: he had taken the direction of this whole affair, as far as it related to England, upon himself, and had received a commission for this purpose, which contained the most ample powers that could be given. But still, however, all was unsettled, undetermined, and ill understood. The duke had asked from France a small body of forces, a sum of money, and a quantity of ammunition; but to the first part of the request he received a flat denial, but was made to hope, that some arms and some ammunition might be given. This was but a very gloomy prospect; yet hope swelled the depressed party so high, that they talked of nothing less than an instant and ready revolution. It was their interest to be secret and industrious; but, rendered sanguine by their passions, they made no doubt of subverting a

government

government with which they were angry, and gave as great an alarm, as would have been imprudent at the eve of a general insurrection.

Such was the state of things, when Bolingbroke arrived to take up his new office at Comercy; and although he saw the deplorable state of the party with which he was embarked, yet he resolved to give his affairs the best complection he was able, and set out for Paris, in order to procure from that court the necessary succours for his new master's invasion of England. But his reception and negotiations at Paris were still more unpromising than those at Comercy, and nothing but absolute infatuation seemed to dictate every measure taken by the party. He there found a multitude of people at work, and every one doing what seemed good in his own eyes; no subordination, no order, no concert. The Jacobites had wrought one another up to look upon the success of the present designs as infallible: every meeting-house which the populace demolished, as he himself says, every little drunken riot which happened, served to confirm them in these sanguine expectations; and there was hardly one among them, who would lose the air of contributing by his intrigues to the restoration, which he took for

granted would be brought about in a few weeks. Care and hope, says our author very humourously, sate on every busy Irish face; those who could read and write had letters to show, and those who had not arrived to this pitch of erudition had their secrets to whisper. No sex was excluded from this ministry; Fanny Oglethorpe kept her corner in it, and Olive Trant, a woman of the same mixed reputation, was the great wheel of this political machine. The ridiculous correspondence was carried on with England by people of like importance, and who were busy in sounding the alarm in the ears of an enemy, whom it was their interest to surprise. By these means, as he himself continues to inform us, the government of England was put on it's guard, so that before he came to Paris what was doing had been discovered. The little armament made at Havre de Grace, which furnished the only means to the Pretender of landing on the coasts of Britain, and which had exhausted the treasury of St. Germains, was talked of publickly. The earl of Stair, the English minister at that city, very soon discovered it's destination, and all the particulars of the intended invasion; the names of the persons from whom supplies came, and who were par-

ticularly active in the design, were whispered about at tea-tables and coffee houses. In short, what by the indiscretion of the projectors, what by the private interests and ambitious views of the French, the most private transactions came to light; and such of the more prudent plotters, who supposed that they had trusted their heads to the keeping of one or two friends, were in reality at the mercy of numbers. Into such company, exclaims our noble writer, was I fallen for my sins. Still, however, he went on, steering in the wide ocean without a compass, till the death of Lewis XIV, and the arrival of the duke of Ormond at Paris, rendered all his endeavours abortive: yet notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, he still continued to dispatch several messages and directions for England, to which he received very evasive and ambiguous answers. Among the number of these, he drew up a paper at Chaville, in concert with the duke of Ormond, marshal Berwick, and de Torcy, which was sent to England just before the death of the King of France, representing that France could not answer the demands of their memorial, and praying directions what to do. A reply to this came to him through the French secretary

of state, wherein they declared themselves unable to say any thing, till they saw what turn affairs would take on the death of the king, which had reached their ears. Upon another occasion, a message coming from Scotland to press the Chevalier to hasten their rising, he dispatched a messenger to London to the earl of Mar, to tell him that the concurrence of England in the insurrection was ardently wished and expected: but instead of that nobleman's waiting for instructions, he had already gone into the Highlands, and had there actually put himself at the head of his clans. After this, in concert with the duke of Ormond, he dispatched one Mr. Hamilton, who got all the papers by heart, for fear of a miscarriage, to their friends in England, to inform them, that though the Chevalier was destitute of succour, and all reasonable hopes of it, yet he would land as they pleased in England or Scotland, at a minute's warning; and therefore they might rise immediately after they had sent dispatches to him. To this message Mr. Hamilton returned very soon with an answer given by lord Lansdowne, in the name of all the persons privy to the secret, that since affairs grew daily worse, and would not mend by delay, the malecontents in England

land had resolved to declare immediately, and would be ready to join the duke of Ormond on his landing; adding, that his person would be as safe in England as in Scotland, and that in every other respect it was better he should land in England; that they had used their utmost endeavours, and hoped the western counties would be in a good posture to receive him, and that he should land as near as possible to Plymouth. With these assurances the duke embarked, though he had heard before of the seizure of many of his most zealous adherents, of the dispersion of many more, and the consternation of all; so that upon his arrival at Plymouth, finding nothing in readiness, he returned to Britany. In these circumstances the Pretender himself sent to have a vessel got ready for him at Dunkirk, in which he went to Scotland, leaving lord Bolingbroke all this while at Paris, to try if by any means some assistance might not be procured, without which all hopes of success were at an end. It was during his negotiation upon this miserable proceeding, that he was sent for by Mrs. Trant, (a woman who had some time before ingratiated herself with the regent of France, by supplying him with mistresses from England) to a little house in the Bois de

Boulogne, where she lived with mademoiselle Chaussery, an old superannuated waiting-woman belonging to the regent. By these he was acquainted with the measures they had taken for the service of the duke of Ormond; although Bolingbroke, who was actual secretary to the negotiation, had never been admitted to a confidence in their secrets. He was therefore a little surprised, at finding such mean agents employed without his privity, and very soon found them utterly unequal to the task. He quickly therefore withdrew himself from such wretched auxiliaries, and the regent himself seemed pleased at his defection.

In the mean time the Pretender set sail from Dunkirk for Scotland, and though Bolingbroke had all along perceived, that his cause was hopeless and his projects ill designed; although he had met with nothing but opposition and disappointment in his service, yet he considered that this of all others was the time he could not be permitted to relax in the cause. He now therefore neglected no means, forgot no argument which his understanding could suggest, in applying to the court of France: but his success was not answerable to his industry. The king of France, not able to furnish the Pretender with money himself, had writ some time

time before his death to his grandson the king of Spain, and had obtained from him a promise of forty thousand crowns. A small part of this sum had been received by the queen's treasurer at St. Germains, and had been sent to Scotland, or employed to defray the expenses which were daily making on the coast; at the same time Bolingbroke pressed the Spanish ambassador at Paris, and solicited the minister at the court of Spain. He took care to have a number of officers picked out of the Irish troops which serve in France, gave them their routes, and sent a ship to receive and transport them to Scotland. Still however the money came in so slowly, and in such trifling sums, that it turned to little account; and the officers were on their way to the Pretender. At the same time he formed a design of engaging French privateers, in the expedition, that were to have carried whatever should be necessary to send to any part of Britain in their first voyage, and then to cruize under the Pretender's commission. He had actually agreed for some, and had it in his power to have made the same bargain with others: Sweden on one side, and Scotland on the other, could have afforded them retreats; and if the war had been kept up in any part of the

mountains, this armament would have been of the utmost advantage. But all his projects and negotiations failed by the Pretender's precipitate return, who was not above six weeks in his expedition, and flew out of Scotland even before all had been tried in his defence.

The expedition being in this manner totally defeated, Bolingbroke now began to think, that it was his duty as well as interest, to save the poor remains of the disappointed party. He never had any great opinion of the Pretender's success before he set off; but when this adventurer had taken the last step, which it was in his power to make, our secretary then resolved to suffer neither him, nor the Scotch, to be any longer bubbles of their own credulity, and of the scandalous artifices of the French court. In a conversation he had with the marshal d' Huxelles, he took occasion to declare, that he would not be the instrument of amusing the Scotch; and since he was able to do them no other service, he would at least inform them what little dependance they might place upon assistance from France. He added, that he would send them vessels, which with those already on the coast of Scotland, might serve to bring off the Pretender, the

the earl of Mar, and as many others as possible. The marshal approved his resolution, and advised him to execute it, as the only thing which was left to do; but in the mean time the Pretender landed at Graveline, and gave orders to stop all vessels bound on his account to Scotland; and Bolingbroke saw him the morning after his arrival at St. Germains, and he received him with open arms.

As it was the secretary's business, as soon as Bolingbroke heard of his return, he went to acquaint the French court with it, when it was recommended to him to advise the Pretender to proceed to Bar with all possible diligence; and in this measure Bolingbroke entirely concurred. But the Pretender himself was in no such haste, he had a mind to stay some time at St. Germains, and in the neighbourhood of Paris, and to have a private meeting with the regent: he accordingly sent Bolingbroke to solicit this meeting, who exerted all his influence in the negotiation. He wrote and spoke to the marshal d' Huxelles, who answered him by word of mouth and by letters, refusing him by both, and assuring him, that the regent said the things which were asked were puerilities, and swore he would not see him. The secretary, no ways displeased with his ill

success,

success, returned with this answer to his master, who acquiesced in this determination, and declared he would instantly set out for Lorrain, at the same time assuring Bolingbroke of his firm reliance on his integrity.

However the Pretender, instead of taking post for Lorrain, as he had promised, went to a little house in the Bois de Boulogne, where his female ministers resided, and there continued for several days, seeing the Spanish and Swedish ministers, and even the regent himself. It might have been in these interviews that he was set against his new secretary, and taught to believe, that he had been remiss in his duty, and false to his trust: be this as it will, a few days after, the duke of Ormond came to see Bolingbroke, and having first prepared him for the surprise, put into his hands a note directed to the duke, and a little scrip of paper directed to the secretary; they were both in the Pretender's hand-writing, and dated as if written by him on his way to Lorrain: but in this Bolingbroke was not to be deceived, who knew the place of his present residence. In one of these papers the Pretender declared that he had no further occasion for the secretary's service, and the other was an order to him to give up the papers in his office; all which

which, he observes, might have been contained in a letter-case of a moderate size. He gave the duke the seals, and some papers which he could readily come at; but for some others, in which there were several insinuations under the Pretender's own hand, reflecting upon the duke himself, these he took care to convey by a safe hand, since it would have been very improper, that the duke should have seen them. As he thus gave up without scruple all the papers which remained in his hands, because he was determined never to make use of them, so he declares he took a secret pride in never asking for those of his own, which were in the Pretender's hands, contenting himself with making the duke understand, how little need there was to get rid of a man in this manner, who only wanted an opportunity to get rid of the Pretender and his cause. In fact, if we survey the measures taken on the one side, and the abilities of the man on the other, it will not appear any way wonderful, that he should be disgusted with a party, who had neither principle to give a foundation to their hopes, union to advance them, nor abilities to put them in motion.

Bolingbroke being thus dismissed from the Pretender's service, he supposed that he had got

got rid of the trouble and the ignominy of so mean an employment at the same time; but he was mistaken: he was no sooner rejected from the office, than articles of impeachment were preferred against him, in the same manner as he had before been impeached in England, though not with such effectual injury to his person and fortune. The articles of his impeachment by the Pretender were branched out into seven heads, in which he was accused of treachery, incapacity, and neglect. The first was, That he was never to be found by those who came to him about business; and if by chance or stratagem they got hold of him, he affected being in a hurry, and by putting them off to another time, still avoided giving them any answer. The second was, That the earl of Mar complained by six different messengers, at different times, before the Chevalier came from Dunkirk, of his being in want of arms and ammunition, and prayed a speedy relief; and though the things demanded were in my lord's power, there was not so much as one pound of powder in any of the ships, which by his lordship's directions departed from France. Thirdly, the Pretender himself, after his arrival, sent general Hamilton to inform him, that his want of arms and ammunition

ammunition was such, that he should be obliged to leave Scotland, unless he received speedy relief: yet lord Bolingbroke amused Mr. Hamilton twelve days together, and did not introduce him to any of the French ministers, though he was referred to them for a particular account of affairs; or so much as communicated his letters to the queen, or any body else. Fourthly, The count de Castel Blanco had for several months, at Havre, a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, and did daily ask his lordship's orders how to dispose of them, but never got any instructions. Fifthly, The Pretender's friends at the French court had for some time past no very good opinion of his lordship's integrity, and a very bad one of his discretion. Sixthly, At a time when many merchants in France would have carried privately any quantity of arms and ammunition into Scotland, his lordship desired a publick order for the embarkation, which, being a thing not to be granted, is said to have been done in order to urge a denial. Lastly, the Pretender wrote to his lordship by every occasion after his arrival in Scotland; and though there were many opportunities of writing in return, yet from the time he landed there, to the day he left it, he never received any letter from

from his lordship. Such were the articles, by a very extraordinary reverse of fortune, preferred against lord Bolingbroke, in less than a year after similar articles were drawn up against him by the opposite party at home. It is not easy to find out what he could have done, thus to disoblige all sides; but he had learned by this time, to make out happiness from the consciousness of his own designs, and to consider all the rest of mankind as uniting in a faction to oppress virtue.

But though it was mortifying to be thus rejected on both sides, yet he was not remiss in vindicating himself from all. Against these articles of impeachment, therefore, he drew up an elaborate answer, in which he vindicates himself with great plausibility. He had long, as he assures, wished to leave the Pretender's service, but was entirely at a loss how to conduct himself in so difficult a resignation: but at length, says he, the Pretender and his council disposed of things better for me than I could have done for myself. I had resolved, on his return from Scotland, to follow him till his residence should be fixed somewhere; after which, having served the tories in this, which I looked upon as their last struggle for power,

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and having continued to act in the Pretender's affairs, till the end of the term for which I embarked with him, I should have esteemed myself to be at liberty, and should, in the civillest manner I was able, have taken my leave of him. Had we parted thus, I should have remained in a very strange situation all the rest of my life; on one side, he would have thought, that he had a right on any future occasion to call me out of my retreat, the tories would probably have thought the same thing, my resolution was taken to refuse them both, and I foresaw that both would condemn me: on the other side, the consideration of his having kept measures with me, joined to that of having once openly declared for him, would have created a point of honour, by which I should have been tied down, not only from ever engaging against him, but also from making my peace at home. The Pretender cut this Gordian knot asunder at one blow; he broke the links of that chain, which former engagements had fastened on me, and gave me a right to esteem myself as free from all obligations of keeping measures with him, as I should have continued if I had never engaged in his interest.

It is not to be supposed, that one so very delicate

delicate to preserve his honour would previously have basely betrayed his employer: a man conscious of acting so infamous a part would have undertaken no defence, but let the accusations, which could not materially affect him, blow over, and wait for the calm that was to succeed in tranquillity. He appeals to all the ministers with whom he transacted business, for the integrity of his proceedings at that juncture; and had he been really guilty, when he opposed the ministry here after his return, they would not have failed to brand and detect his duplicity. The truth is, that he perhaps was the most disinterested minister at that time in the Pretender's court; as he had spent great sums of his own money in his service, and never would be obliged to him for a farthing, in which case he believes that he was single. His integrity is much less impeachable on this occasion than his ambition; for all the steps he took may be fairly ascribed to his displeasure at having the duke of Ormond and the earl of Mar treated more confidentially than himself. It was his aim always to be foremost in every administration, and he could not bear to act as a subaltern, in so paltry a court as that of the Pretender.

At

At all periods of his exile, he still looked toward home with secret regret; and had taken every opportunity to apply to those in power, either to soften his prosecutions, or lessen the number of his enemies at home. In accepting his office under the Pretender, he made it a condition to be at liberty to quit the post whenever he should think proper; and being now disgracefully dismissed, he turned his mind entirely toward making his peace in England, and employing all the unfortunate experience he had acquired to undeceive his tory friends, and to promote the union and quiet of his native country. It was not a little favourable to his hopes, that about this time, though unknown to him, the Earl of Stair, ambassador to the French court, had received full power to treat with him while he was engaged with the Pretender; but yet had never made him any proposals, which might be considered as the grossest outrage. But when the breach with the Pretender was universally known, the earl sent one monsieur Saludin, a gentleman of Geneva, to lord Bolingbroke, to communicate to him his majesty King George's favourable disposition to grant him a pardon, and his own earnest desire to serve him as

far as he was able. This was an offer by much too advantageous for Bolingbroke in his wretched circumstances to refuse; he embraced it, as became him to do, with all possible sense of the king's goodness, and of the ambassador's friendship. They had frequent conferences shortly after upon the subject. The turn which the English ministry gave the matter was, to enter into a treaty to reverse his attainder, and to stipulate the conditions on which this act of grace should be granted him: but this method of negotiation he would by no means submit to; the notion of a treaty shocked him, and he resolved never to be restored, rather than go that way to work. Accordingly he opened himself without any reserve to Lord Stair, and told him, that he looked upon himself obliged in honour and conscience, to undeceive his friends in England, both as to the state of foreign affairs, as to the management of the Jacobite interest abroad, and as to the characters of the persons; in every one of which points he knew them to be most grossly and most dangerously deluded. He observed, that the treatment he had received from the Pretender and his adherents would justify him to the world in doing this. That,

if he remained in exile all his life, he might be assured that he would never have more to do with the Jacobite cause; and that if he were restored, he would give it an effectual blow, in making that apology, which the Pretender had put him under a necessity of making. That in doing this he flattered himself, that he should contribute something toward the establishment of the king's government, and to the union of his subjects. He added, that if the court thought him sincere in these professions, a treaty with him was unnecessary; and if they did not believe so, then a treaty would be dangerous to him. The Earl of Stair, who has also confirmed this account of Lord Bolingbroke's, in a letter to Mr. Craggs, readily came into his sentiments on this head, and soon after the king approved it upon their representations: he accordingly received a promise of pardon from George I, who on the 2d of July, 1716, created his father baron of Battersea, in the county of Surry, and viscount St. John. This seemed preparatory to his own restoration; and instead of prosecuting any farther ambitious schemes against the government, he rather began to turn his mind to philosophy; and since he could not gratify

his ambition to it's full extent, he endeavoured to learn the art of despising it. The variety of distressful events, that had hitherto attended all his struggles, at last had thrown him into a state of reflection, and this produced, by way of relief, a consolatio philosophica, which he wrote the same year, under the title of Reflections upon Exile. In this piece, in which he professes to imitate the manner of Seneca, he, with some wit, draws his own picture, and represents himself as suffering persecution for having served his country with abilities and integrity. A state of exile thus incurred he very justly shows to be rather honourable than distressful; and indeed, there are few men that will deny, but that the company of strangers to virtue is better than the company of enemies to it. Beside this philosophical tract, he also wrote this year several letters, in answer to the charge laid upon him by the Pretender and his adherents; and the following year he drew up a vindication of his whole conduct with respect to the tories, in the form of a letter to Sir William Wyndham.

Nor was he so entirely devoted to the fatigues of business, but that he gave pleasure a share in his pursuits. He had never much

agreed with the lady he first married, and after a short cohabitation they separated, and lived ever after asunder. She therefore remained in England, upon his going into exile, and by proper application to the throne, was allowed a sufficient maintenance to support her with becoming dignity: however, she did not long survive his first disgrace; and upon his becoming a widower, he began to think of trying his fortune once more, in a state which was at first so unfavourable. For this purpose he cast his eye on the widow of the marquis of Villette, and niece to the famous madam Maintenon; a young lady of great merit and understanding, possessed of a very large fortune, but incumbered with a long and troublesome lawsuit. In the company of this very sensible woman he passed his time in France, sometimes in the country, and sometimes at the capital, till the year 1723, in which, after the breaking up of the parliament, his majesty was pleased to grant him a pardon as to his personal safety, but as yet neither restoring him to his family inheritance, his title, nor a seat in parliament.

To obtain this favour, had been the governing principle of his politicks for some years before; and upon the first notice of his good

fortune, he prepared to return to his native country, where, however, his dearest connections were either dead, or declared themselves suspicious of his former conduct in support of their party. It is observable, that bishop Atterbury, who was banished at this time, for a supposed treasonable correspondence in favour of the tories, was set on shore at Calais, just when Lord Bolingbroke arrived there on his return to England. So extraordinary a reverse of fortune could not fail of strongly affecting that good prelate, who observed with some emotion, that he perceived himself to be exchanged: he presently left it to his auditors to imagine, whether his country were the loser or the gainer by such an exchange.

Lord Bolingbroke, upon his return to his native country, began to make very vigorous applications for farther favours from the crown; his pardon, without the means of support, was but an empty, or perhaps it might be called a distressful act of kindness, as it brought him back among his former friends, in a state of inferiority his pride could not endure. However, his applications were soon after successful, for in about two years after his return, he obtained an act of parliament to restore him to his family inheritance, which amounted to near

near three thousand pounds a year. He was also enabled by the same to possess any purchase he should make of any other estate in the kingdom; and he accordingly pitched upon a seat of Lord Tankerville's at Dawley, near Uxbridge in Middlesex, where he settled with his lady, and laid himself out to enjoy the rural pleasures in perfection, since the more glorious ones of ambition were denied him. With this resolution he began to improve his new purchase in a very peculiar style, giving it all the air of a country farm, and adorning even his hall with all the implements of husbandry. We have a sketch of his way of living in this retreat, in a letter of Pope's to Swift, who omits no opportunity of representing his lordship in the most amiable points of view. This letter is dated from Dawley, the country farm above-mentioned, and begins thus. "I now hold the pen for my Lord "Bolingbroke, who is reading your letter "between two haycocks; but his attention "is somewhat diverted, by casting his eyes "on the clouds, not in admiration of what "you say, but for fear of a shower. He is "pleased with your placing him in the tri-"umvirate, between yourself and me; though "he says he doubts he ſhall fare like Lepidus,

" while one of us runs away with all the " power, like Augustus, and another with all " the pleasure, like Antony. It is upon a " foresight of this, that he has fitted up his " farm, and you will agree that this scheme " of retreat is not founded upon weak appear- " ances. Upon his return from Bath, he " finds all peccant humours are purged out " of him; and his great temperance and " œconomy are so signal, that the first is fit " for my constitution, and the latter would " enable you to lay up so much money as " to buy a bishoprick in England. As to the " return of his health and vigour, were you " here, you might inquire of his haymakers; " but as to his temperance, I can answer, that " for one whole day we have had nothing for " dinner but mutton-broth, beans and bacon, " and a barn-door fowl. Now his lordship " is run after his cart, I have a moment left " to myself to tell you, that I overheard him " yesterday agree with a painter for two hun- " dred pounds, to paint his country-hall with " rakes, spades, prongs, &c., and other orna- " ments, merely to countenance his calling " this place a Farm." What Pope here says of his engagements with a painter was shortly after executed; the hall was painted accordingly

ingly in black crayons only, so that at first view it brought to mind the figures often seen scratched with charcoal, or the smoke of a candle, upon the kitchen walls of farm-houses. The whole however produced a most striking effect, and over the door at the entrance into it was this motto: SATIS BEATUS RURIS HONORIBUS. His lordship seemed to be extremely happy in this pursuit of moral tranquillity: and in the exultation of his heart could not fail of communicating his satisfaction to his friend Swift. "I am in my own "farm," says he, "and here I shoot strong and "tenacious roots: I have caught hold of the "earth, to use a gardener's phrase, and neither my enemies nor my friends will find "it an easy matter to transplant me again."

There is not, perhaps, a stronger instance in the world than his lordship, that an ambitious mind can never be fairly subdued, but will still seek for those gratifications, which retirement can never supply. All this time he was mistaken in his passion for solitude, and supposed that to be the child of philosophy, which was only the effects of spleen: it was in vain that he attempted to take root in the shade of obscurity; he was originally bred in the glare of public occupation, and he secretly once

once more wished for transplantation. He was only a titular lord, he had not been thoroughly restored; and, as he was excluded from a seat in the house of peers, he burned with impatience to play a part in that conspicuous theatre. Impelled by this desire he could no longer be restrained in obscurity, but once more entered into the bustle of publick business, and disavowing all obligations to the minister, he embarked in the opposition against him, in which he had several powerful coadjutors: but previously he had taken care to prefer a petition to the house of commons, desiring to be reinstated in his former emoluments and capacities. This petition at first occasioned very warm debates; Walpole, who pretended to espouse his cause, alleged, that it was very right to admit him to his inheritance; and when Lord William Pawlet moved for a clause to disqualify him from sitting in either house, Walpole rejected the motion, secretly satisfied with a resolution which had been settled in the cabinet, that he should never more be admitted into any share of power. To this artful method of evading his pretensions Bolingbroke was no stranger; and he was now resolved to shake that power, which thus endeavoured to obstruct

struct the increase of his own: taking therefore his part in the opposition with Pultney, while the latter engaged to manage the house of commons, Bolingbroke undertook to enlighten the people: accordingly he soon distinguished himself by a multitude of pieces, written during the latter part of George the first's reign, and likewise the beginning of that which succeeded. These were conceived with great vigour and boldness; and now, once more engaged in the service of his country, though disarmed, gagged, and almost bound, as he declared himself to be, yet he resolved not to abandon his cause, as long as he could depend on the firmness and integrity of those coadjutors, who did not labour under the same disadvantages with himself. His letters in a paper called the Craftsman were particularly distinguished in this political contest; and though several of the most expert politicians of the times joined in this paper, his essays were peculiarly relished by the publick. However, it is the fate of things written to an occasion, seldom to survive that occasion: the Craftsman, though written with great spirit and sharpness, is now almost forgotten, although when it was published as a weekly paper, it sold

sold much more rapidly than even the Spectator. Beside this work, he published several other separate pamphlets, which were afterward reprinted in the second edition of his works, and which were very popular in their day.

This political warfare continued for ten years, during which time he laboured with great strength and perseverance, and drew up such a system of politicks, as some have supposed to be the most complete now existing. But, as upon all other occasions, he had the mortification once more to see those friends desert him, upon whose assistance he most firmly relied, and all that web of fine-spun speculation actually destroyed at once by the ignorance of some and the perfidy of others. He then declared, that he was perfectly cured of his patriotic phrenzy; he fell out not only with Pultney for his selfish views, but with his old friends the tories, for abandoning their cause as desperate, averring, that the faint and unsteady exercise of parts on one side was a crime but one degree inferior to the iniquitous misapplication of them on the other. But he could not take leave of a controversy, in which he had been so many

years

years engaged, without giving a parting blow, in which he seemed to summon up all his vigour at once, and where, as the poet says,

Animam in vulnere posuit.

This inimitable piece is entitled, A Dissertation on Parties; and of all his masterly pieces it is in general esteemed the best.

Having finished this, which was received with the utmost avidity, he resolved to take leave not only of his enemies and friends, but even of his country; and in this resolution, in the year 1736, he once more retired to France, where he looked to his native country with a mixture of anger and pity, and upon his former professing friends with a share of contempt and indignation. I expect little, says he, from the principal actors, that tread the stage at present. They are divided not so much as it seemed, and as they would have it believed, about measures. The true division is about their different ends. While the minister was not hard pushed, nor the prospect of succeeding to him near, they appeared to have but one end, the reformation of the government. The destruction of the minister was pursued only as a preliminary, but of essential and indisputable necessity, to that end:

end: but when his destruction seemed to approach, the object of his succession interposed to the sight of many, and the reformation of the government was no longer their point of view. They had divided the skin, at least in their thoughts, before they had taken the beast. The common fear of hastening his downfal for others, made them all faint in the chace. It was this, and this alone, that saved him, and put off his evil day.

Such were his cooler reflections, after he had laid down his political pen, to employ it in a manner that was much more agreeable to his usual professions, and his approaching age. He had long employed the few hours he could spare, on subjects of a more general and important nature to the interests of mankind; but as he was frequently interrupted by the alarms of party, he made no great proficiency in his design. Still, however, he kept it in view, and he makes frequent mention in his letters to Swift of his intentions to give metaphysicks a new and useful turn. I know, says he, in one of these, how little regard you pay to writings of this kind; but I imagine, that if you can like any, it must be those that strip metaphysicks of all their bombast, keep within the sight of every well constituted eye,

eye, and never bewilder themselves, while they pretend to guide the reason of others.

Having now arrived at the sixtieth year of his age, and being blessed with a very competent share of fortune, he retired into France, far from the noise and hurry of party; for his seat at Dawley was too near to devote the rest of his life to retirement and study. Upon his going to that country, as it was generally known that disdain, vexation, and disappointment had driven him there, many of his friends, as well as his enemies, supposed that he was once again gone over to the Pretender. Among the number who entertained this suspicion was Swift, whom Pope, in one of his letters, very roundly chides for harbouring such an unjust opinion. "You should be cautious," says he, "of censuring any motion or action "of lord Bolingbroke, because you hear "it only from a shallow, envious, and "malicious reporter. What you writ to "me about him, I find, to my great scan-"dal, repeated in one of yours to another. "Whatever you might hint to me, was this "for the profane? The thing, if true, should "be concealed; but it is, I assure you, ab-"solutely untrue in every circumstance.

"He

"He has fixed in a very agreeable retirement, "near Fontainbleau, and makes it his whole "business VACARE LITERIS."

This reproof from Pope was not more friendly, than it was true; lord Bolingbroke was too well acquainted with the forlorn state of that party, and the folly of it's conductors, once more to embark in their desperate concerns. He now saw, that he had gone as far toward reinstating himself in the full possession of his former honours, as the mere dint of parts and application could go; and was at length experimentally convinced, that the decree was absolutely irreversible, and the door of the house of lords finally shut against him. He therefore, at Pope's suggestion, retired merely to be at leisure from the broils of opposition, for the calmer pleasures of philosophy. Thus the decline of his life, though less brilliant, became more amiable, and even his happiness was improved by age, which had rendered his passions more moderate, and his wishes more attainable.

But he was far from suffering, even in solitude, his hours to glide away in torpid inactivity. That active restless disposition still continued to actuate his pursuits; and

having

having lost the season for gaining power over his contemporaries, he was now resolved upon aquiring fame from posterity. He had not been long in his retreat near Fontainebleau, when he began a course of letters on the study and use of history, for the use of a young nobleman. In these he does not follow the methods of St. Real and others, who have treated on this subject, who make history the great fountain of all knowledge; he very wisely confines it's benefits, and supposes them rather to consist in deducing general maxims from particular facts, than in illustrating maxims by the application of historical passages. In mentioning ecclesiastical history, he gives his opinion very freely, upon the subject of the divine original of the sacred books, which he supposes to have no such foundation. This new system of thinking, which he had always propagated in conversation, and which he now began to adopt in his more laboured compositions, seemed no way supported either by his acuteness or his learning. He began to reflect seriously on these subjects too late in life, and to suppose those objections very new and unanswerable, which had been already confuted by thousands. " Lord Bolingbroke," says Pope, in one of his letters, " is above trifling; when

" he writes of any thing in this world, he is " more than mortal. If ever he trifles, it " must be when he turns divine."

In the mean time, as it was evident, that a man of his active ambition, in choosing retirement when no longer able to lead in publick, must be liable to ridicule in resuming a resigned philosophical air: in order to obviate the censure, he addressed a letter to lord Bathurst, upon the true use of retirement and study; in which he shows himself still able and willing to undertake the cause of his country, whenever it's distresses should require his exertion. " I have," says he, " re- " nounced neither my country, nor my " friends; and by friends I mean all those, " and those alone, who are such to their " country. In their prosperity, they shall " never hear of me; in their distress, always. " In that retreat, wherein the remainder of " my days shall be spent, I may be of some " use to them, since even from thence I may " advise, exhort, and warn them." Bent upon this pursuit only, and having now exchanged the gay statesman for the grave philosopher, he shone forth with distinguished lustre. His conversation took a different turn from what had been usual with him; and, as we are assured by lord Orrery, who knew

knew him, it united the wisdom of Socrates, the dignity and ease of Pliny, and the wit of Horace.

Yet still amidst his resolutions to turn himself from politics, and to give himself up entirely to the calls of philosophy, he could not resist embarking once more in the debates of his country; and coming back from France, settled at Battersea, an old seat which was his father's, and had been long in the possession of the family. He supposed he saw an impending calamity; and though it was not in his power to remove, he thought it his duty to retard it's fall. To redeem or save the nation from perdition, he thought impossible, since national corruptions were to be purged by national calamities; but he was resolved to lend his feeble assistance, to stem the torrent that was pouring in. With this spirit he wrote that excellent piece, entitled The Idea of a Patriot King; in which he describes a monarch uninfluenced by party, leaning to the suggestions neither of whigs nor tories, but equally the friend and the father of all. Some time after, in the year 1749, after the conclusion of the peace, two years before the measures taken by the

administration seemed not to have been repugnant to his notions of political prudence for that juncture; in that year he wrote his last production, containing reflections on the then state of the nation, principally with regard to her taxes and debts, and on the causes and consequences of them. This undertaking was left unfinished, for death snatched the pen from the hand of the writer.

Having passed the latter part of his life in dignity and splendour, his rational faculties improved by reflection, and his ambition kept under by disappointment, his whole aim seemed to have been to leave the stage of life, on which he had acted such various parts, with applause. He had long wished to fetch his last breath at Battersea, the place where he was born; and fortune, that had through life seemed to traverse all his aims, at last indulged him in this. He had long been troubled with a cancer in his cheek, by which excruciating disease he died on the verge of fourscore years of age. He was consonant with himself to the last, and those principles, which he had all along avowed, he confirmed with his dying breath, having given orders, that

none

none of the clergy should be permitted to trouble him in his latest moments.

His body was interred in Battersea church, with those of his ancestors; and a marble monument erected to his memory, with the following excellent inscription.

Here lies
HENRY ST. JOHN,
In the Reign of Queen Anne
Secretary of War, Secretary of State, and
Viscount Bolingbroke.
In the Days of King George I, and King George II,
Something more and better.
His attachment to Queen Anne
Exposed him to a long and severe Persecution;
He bore it with Firmness of Mind.
He passed the latter Part of his Time at home,
The Enemy of no national Party;
The Friend of no Faction.
Distinguished under the Cloud of Proscription,
Which had not been entirely taken off,
By Zeal to maintain the Liberty,
And to restore the ancient Prosperity
Of Great Britain.
He died the 12th of December 1751,
Aged 79.

In this manner lived and died lord Bolingbroke; ever active, never depressed, ever pursuing fortune, and as constantly disappointed by her. In whatever light we view

his character, we shall find him an object rather more proper for our wonder, than our imitation: more to be feared than esteemed, and gaining our admiration without our love. His ambition ever aimed at the summit of power, and nothing seemed capable of satisfying his immoderate desires, but the liberty of governing all things without a rival. With as much ambition, as great abilities, and more acquired knowledge than Cæsar, he wanted only his courage to be as successful: but the schemes his head dictated, his heart often refused to execute; and he lost the ability to perform, just when the great occasion called for all his efforts to engage.

The same ambition, that prompted him to be a politician, actuated him as a philosopher.

His aims were equally great and extensive in both capacities; unwilling to submit to any in the one, or any authority in the other, he entered the fields of science, with a thorough contempt of all that had been established before him, and seemed willing to think every thing wrong, that he might show his faculty in the reformation. It might have been better for his quiet, as a man, if he had been content to act a subordinate character in the state; and it had certainly been better for his memory

mory as a writer, if he had aimed at doing less than he attempted. Wisdom, in morals, like every other art or science, is an accumulation that numbers have contributed to increase; and it is not for one single man to pretend, that he can add more to the heap, than the thousands that have gone before him. Such innovations more frequently retard, than promote knowledge; their maxims are more agreeable to the reader, by having the gloss of novelty to recommend them, than those which are trite, only because they are true. Such men are therefore followed at first with avidity, nor is it till some time, that their disciples begin to find their errour. They often, though too late, perceive, that they have been following a speculative inquiry, while they have been leaving a practical good; and while they have been practising the arts of doubting, they have been losing all firmness of principle, which might tend to establish the rectitude of their private conduct. As a moralist, therefore, lord Bolingbroke, by having endeavoured at too much, seems to have done nothing: but as a political writer, few can equal, and none can exceed him. As he was a practical politician, his writings are less filled with those speculative illusions, which are the

result of solitude and seclusion. He wrote them with a certainty of their being opposed, sifted, examined, and reviled; he therefore took care to build them up of such materials, as could not be easily overthrown: they prevailed at the times in which they were written, they still continue to the admiration of the present age, and will probably last for ever.

ADDITIONS

ADDITIONS TO THE LIFE OF LORD BOLINGBROKE.

COLLECTED FROM VARIOUS AUTHORITIES.

I. POLITICAL CONDUCT.

MR. ST. JOHN had not sat above four years in the house of commons, when he was appointed Secretary at War, in the year 1703-4, and the twenty-sixth year of his age. Following the fortunes of his friend Harley, he resigned on the removal of that statesman in 1707-8. In 1710, he was made Secretary of State. The first act of his administration was, on January 2, to deliver a message from the Queen, acquainting the house of commons, that there had been an action in Spain, very much to the disadvantage of king Charles's affairs, which having fallen particularly on the English forces, the Queen had immediately given directions for sending and procuring troops to repair this loss, not doubting but the parliament would approve thereof. The ministry succeeded readily in procuring a suitable

suitable address, but the house of lords added in theirs, that "as this misfortune might have been occasioned by some preceding mismanagement, they would use their utmost endeavours to discover it, so as to prevent the like for the future;" and they immediately began to enter into an inquiry into the actual state of affairs in Spain. The purpose intended by this inquiry, namely, a censure on the late ministry, was achieved without much difficulty, although not without considerable opposition. Burnet and other historians are of opinion, that the house of lords carried the measure by means not very much to their credit. What share Mr. St. John had, either in advising or promoting it, otherwise than by agreeing with the cabinet, does not appear.

When the attempt was made on Mr. Harley's life by the marquis de Guiscard, Mr. St. John's former acquaintance with this character, and his connection with Mr. Harley, rendered it necessary for him to appear upon the scene. Guiscard was a French partizan in the pay of the English government, a man of a suspicious, and, personally, very licentious character. He had been intimate with Mr. St. John on his resignation in 1708, and when the latter was made Secretary of State, the marquis looked up to him as a friend. St. John did not interpose in his favour with much ardour, although, upon his recommendation, the Queen ordered him a pension of five hundred pounds a year. Mr. Harley, however, not only reduced this to four hundred, but also refused

refused to make it permanent. The marquis, bitterly disappointed in this, and denied all access to the Queen, to whom he meant to remonstrate, acted the natural part of an original traitor, by endeavouring to recommend himself to the court of France. His correspondence to this intent being discovered, he was apprehended on the eighteenth of March 1711, for high treason, by a warrant from Mr. Secretary St. John. At this he was, or affected to be so disordered, as to request the messenger to kill him. The messenger had disarmed him; but being desperate, before he was brought to the cockpit, he took an opportunity to seize and secrete a penknife, which happened to lie on the table. The council, that was called on this occasion to examine him, consisted of the lord-keeper Harcourt, the earl of Rochester, the dukes of Buckingham, Newcastle, and Ormond, earl Paulet, Mr. Harley, and the three Secretaries of State, the duke of Queensberry, lord Dartmouth, and Mr. St. John. It fell to the lot of the latter, to commence the examination, by interrogating Guiscard relative to his correspondence with France. For some time he availed himself of equivocating answers; but when Mr. St. John asked him, if he knew M. Moreau, banker at Paris, producing at the same time the intercepted letters addressed to that person, the marquis became agitated by surprise, shame, and disappointment, and it is supposed immediately conceived the idea of assassinating one or other of the council. Mr. St. John was probably

probably his first object, as he not only had reason to resent his neglect of one with whom he had formerly lived in intimacy, and had actually, on the present occasion, requested to speak with him in private. Mr. St. John, however, who does not appear to have entertained any suspicion of this kind, merely told him, that such a private conference was unusual, that he was before the committee of the privy council as a criminal, and must address to them any thing he had to offer. The marquis persisted in his request to Mr. St. John with such obstinacy, that the bell was rang for the messengers to take him away: This exasperated him still more, and Mr. St. John happening to sit out of his reach, he made toward Mr. Harley, and stabbed him about the middle of the breast*: but the penknife, lighting on the bone, broke about half an inch from the handle. Guiscard, not perceiving this, repeated his blow not far from the first wound. Mr. St. John was the first to recover from his surprise, and exclaimed, "The villain has killed Mr. Harley!" On this, several of the members of the council drew their swords, and wounded Guiscard severely before he was overpowered. Mr. Harley recovered after some time,

* "It is impossible to express to you the firmness and magnanimity, which Mr. Harley showed upon this surprising occasion: I, who have always admired him, never did it so much: the suddenness of the blow, the sharpness of the wound, the confusion which followed, neither could change his countenance, nor alter his voice."—Bolingbroke's Letters, by Parke, vol. i. p. 102.

but

but Guiscard died in gaol of a mortification in his back, occasioned by a wound he received from one of the messengers. The contents of his intercepted letters were never divulged, nor the particulars of his confession, if he made any *.

The next important affair, in which Mr. St. John was a principal agent, was the negotiation for peace, which had been privately entered into with some of the agents of France in 1711. To promote this object Mr. St. John had several private meetings with the sieur Gaultier, an obscure French priest residing in London, under the protection of the Imperial ambassador. The French court was as much disposed to enter into negotiation; and Monsieur Torcy sent to England some propositions, dated April 22, and signifying, "That, as it was not doubted but the

* It appears by the Secretary's correspondence, lately published by Mr. Parke, that he had communicated to the duke of Marlborough a copy of one at least of Guiscard's letters. In a subsequent letter to Mr. Drummond, a merchant of Amsterdam, with whom he frequently corresponded, he says, "The lords of the council have been twice with Guiscard in Newgate. What he confesses is trifling: and to say the truth, I do not imagine he knows any thing very material." In a letter to the duke of Marlborough, he adds, "Guiscard is dead, and though he gave the lords of the council the trouble of going three or four times to Newgate, yet he related little more than coffee-house conversation. He pretended that *Saissan étoit un Babillard*, and that the best accounts, or at least the first which he had of his projects were those which he pumped out of him himself. What other intelligence he had from Holland he had from Chabanetti, as I have had the honour to tell your Grace, and as you will see by the copies of his letters."

[French]

[French] king was in a condition to maintain the war with glory, so it would not be esteemed a sign of weakness, that his majesty broke the silence he had kept since the separation of the conferences at Gertruydenberg; and that before the opening of the campaign he gave still new proofs of the desire, that he had always preserved, to procure the reestablishment of the repose of Europe. But that after the experience he had made of the sentiments of those, who now governed the republick of Holland, and of their endeavours to render their negotiations fruitless, he was willing to address to the English nation the propositions he thought fit to make to end the war; and that with this view, the king offered to treat of peace on the basis of the following conditions: — 1. That the English should have real securities to exercise their commerce in Spain, to the Indies, and in the ports of the Mediterranean. 2. That a barrier should be formed in the Low Countries for the security of the republick of Holland, and to the good liking of the Dutch. 3. That reasonable means should be sought out to satisfy the allies of England and Holland. 4. That as the good estate of the affairs of the king of Spain furnished new expedients to end the difference touching that monarchy, endeavours should be used to surmount the difficulties raised on this occasion. 5. That the conferences to treat of peace should be immediately opened: and that the king's plenipotentiaries should either treat with those of England

and

and Holland alone, or jointly with those of their allies, at the choice of England. 6. And that his majesty proposed the cities of Aix-la-Chapelle and Liege for the place of treaty, referring it to England to choose one of those two cities."

Mr. St. John immediately sent these proposals to lord Raby, the English minister at the Hague; but before we give the letter, with which they were accompanied, it may be necessary to prefix his confidential opinion of the strength and resources of the enemy. In a letter, to Mr. Drummond of Amsterdam, dated March 16, 1710-11, he says, "By very good intelligence from France, I am induced to believe, that their efforts for carrying on the war this year are even greater than they promised themselves; and then the hopes they have raised of the king of Sweden's entering into Saxony, and giving a great disturbance to the empire, will incline them to see what turn these affairs are likely to take, before they hearken to any proposals of peace.

"It is my opinion, that their expectations from the king of Sweden are too well grounded; and that he has a better understanding with France, than we seem to apprehend, even since his protestation against the neutrality *.

* This treaty was intended to secure the peace of the empire, and to prevent any impediment from the northern powers to the operations of the grand alliance against France. The allies agreed, on their part, to furnish a guarantee army of 20000 men, while Russia, Poland, Denmark, Prussia, and Sweden, were to observe a strict neutrality. This was signed by the allies, Denmark, and the Lords Regents of Sweden. But Charles XII protested against it, backed by the Grand Signior.

"We

"We must acknowledge, that the allies are, in these respects, in an unhappy situation: but I am entirely of your opinion, that no advances toward peace are to be made first on our part."

In a letter to the same correspondent, dated March 30, he expresses his anxiety for peace on the following grounds: but with some change of opinion as to the enemy.

"The want of a peace on all sides is evident; the ill situation of the enemy's affairs, however disguised by their artifice, and by that effort which the constitution of their government enables them to make, we can enough discover. The bad condition which we are in is likewise too visible to be kept as a secret. Britain, exhausted by extending the war too wide, and taking upon themselves the load of other people. Holland shrinking back from their quotas; and the government there grown poor, whatever private men may be. The confederates grown to look upon this as the war of the two maritime powers, playing at fast and loose with us; and in short, the opportunities of making a good peace, while the enemies lay stunned with the several strokes they had received, absolutely lost. Whoever puts these several propositions together, will easily conclude, that peace will be by so much the greater blessing, by how much the sooner it comes."

To Lord Raby, April 6, 1711.—"As to the overture of peace, we are likewise able to say little, till we hear from your side what new message the answer given to the baron de

Beque* produces. Certain it is, that we missed the true opportunity of making peace; and that we have stayed till we are not able to carry on the war. However, the best countenance is to be put on, and peace ought not to be meanly courted, any more than it ought to be industriously avoided."

To the same, April 20.—"Upon the head of peace I shall write more fully to your Excellency, after I have spoke with my Lord President, my Lord Chamberlain, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In general, I can tell you now, that we must endeavour to have it, without appearing too fond of it."

To the same, same date.—"Peace seems at present to be so far off, and so many events may happen, one way or other, to incline her majesty to one scheme or another, that I cannot pretend to tell your Excellency what the Queen's present thoughts are upon that head. In general we want a peace, and we wish it: and I think the right rule to act and speak by is, to give our enemies an opinion, that the first proposition is not true, but that the last is so."

Such were the sentiments of Mr. St. John, when he communicated the French overture to lord Raby, the English ambassador at the Hague, in the following letter:

"My Lord, Whitehall, April 27, 1711.

"I send your Excellency, inclosed, by her majesty's order, the copy of an overture from

* Minister of the duke of Lorrain, through whom an overture for a general peace was made.

France, which came a few days since to our hands.

" The Queen's pleasure is, that your Excellency do take the first opportunity of communicating it to the Pensionary, and of letting that minister know, that her majesty, who is resolved, in making peace as in making war, to act in perfect concert with the States, would not lose a moment in transmitting to him a paper of this importance.

" Your Excellency will please to add, that the Queen earnestly desires this secret may be kept among as few as possible, and that she hopes the Pensionary will advise upon this occasion with no person whatever, except such as are, by the constitution of that government, unavoidably necessary.

" As soon as the matter has been considered in Holland, your Excellency will please to dispatch Barlow, who brings you this packet, back, with the opinion of the Dutch ministers.

" The terms of the several propositions are, as your Excellency will observe, very general; but, however, they contain an offer to treat; and though there is an air of complaisance through the whole paper shown to us, and the contrary to those among whom you reside, yet this can have no ill consequence, as long as the Queen and the States take care to understand each other, and to act with as little reserve as becomes two powers so nearly allied in interest. Your Excellency may assure the Pensionary, that this rule shall on our parts be inviolably observed.

" The

"The duke of Marlborough has no communication from hence of this affair; I suppose he will have none from the Hague.

"Your Excellency will please to accept of the most sincere assurances, that I am, with great respect,

"My Lord,

"Your Excellency's most obedient," &c.

"Not knowing but your Excellency might, on some occasion or other, have a mind to show my letter to the ministers in Holland, I chose to throw into another paper what is not proper for them to see.

"Ever since the conferences broke off at Gertruydenberg, the French have affected to distrust the inclination of the Dutch to peace, and to take every occasion of showing a resentm nt of the ill-treatment, which they pretend at that time to have received.

"Your Excellency, I believe, will think, that as soon as the Pensionary reads the paper sent by Monsieur de Torcy he will be alarmed at the whole frame of it, and particularly at those expressions: Que les Anglois auront des suretés réelles, & une barrière suffisante pour la sureté de la république d'Hollande; & cette barrière sera convenable à l'Angleterre, & au gré de la nation Angloise."

"The fear the Dutch will conceive of our obtaining advantageous terms for Britain will naturally put them on trying underhand for them-

selves, and endeavouring to make us the dupes of the peace, as we have been of the war. Your Excellency will therefore please to be watchful to discover any workings of this kind.

" The French name Aix and Liege for treating the peace; but I may tell your Excellency, that they do it for no other reason, but because they will not name any town which belongs to the States. This, however, will break no measures; and if we stuck at nothing but the place, that difficulty would be made easy by the French.

" The manner of treating, whether with all the allies, or only the maritime powers first, is a point of much consideration.

" The inclosed, for Monsieur de Garde *, the Queen would have your Excellency take care to have forwarded by the post to France, but it must be so delivered, that there may be no suspicion of it's being so by your order."

In answer to these orders, lord Raby acquainted Mr. St. John, that the Pensionary had, with those of the States, who had been formerly employed

* *The Abbé Gaultier to the Marquis de Torcy.*

SIR, London, May 8th, 1711, N. S.

I HAD the honour to inform you on Tuesday, that I had given in the memorial entrusted to me the 23d ultimo: it has been read and examined, and it is now transmitted to the States-General. After having proceeded thus far, it is judged reasonable, that you should explain yourself, particularly on the contents of the first article, and what you mean by the words ' *that the English nation shall have real securities for carrying*

ployed in the negotiations of peace, considered Torcy's propositions, and the obliging manner in which her majesty was pleased to communicate them: that they thanked her majesty for her confidence

rying on their trade in Spain, the Indies, and the ports of the Mediterranean.' I am ordered to write this to day, and beg you will have the goodness to send me an early answer. I am, &c.

F. GAULTIER.

Gaultier to de la Garde.

London, May 8th, 1711, N. S.

PRAY convey the enclosed to it's address as soon as you receive it; and send me the answer as early as possible.

The Marquis de Torcy to the Abbé Gaultier.

SIR, Marli, May 31st, 1711.

BY the last post I informed you, that I had received your letter of the 8th, and that I should immediately answer the essential parts of it's contents. I do this to day, by giving you the explanation you require, upon the first article of the project sent to you. In truth, it should properly be deferred until the conferences: and you can scarce require explanations when we have no assurances on your part. We are, however, willing to wave this difficulty, to show not only the good faith and plain dealing, which you desire, but also that confidence which we place in you. You may then assure your employers, that we have received the king of Spain's word for the cession of Gibraltar to the English, for the real security of their trade in Spain and the Mediterranean. You will add, that no proposal has hitherto been made to his Catholick majesty, for the security of the Indian commerce; because we should previously know what England may judge proper on that subject. Make inquiry then, and as soon as you shall have informed me, we will make a strong application to the Catholick king, that his ministers, at the conferences of peace, be instructed on so important an article, and which cannot be treated as preliminary. We know in general, that he will be disposed to favour the

fidence in them; and assured her, that theirs was reciprocal, and that, as her majesty had promised, she would make no step toward a peace, but in concert with them, they replied she might be assured of the same on their part, and that they would make no step in that, or any other kind of negotiation, which regarded the mutual interests of both nations, but in communication and in concert with her majesty. That they urged the necessity of an entire confidence one with the other at this critical juncture; and declared themselves weary of the war, which they endeavoured to conceal from the enemy, lest he should make his advantage by it; and that they were ready to join in any measures, which her majesty

English, whenever they contribute their endeavours to the re-establishment of publick tranquillity.

I spoke to you upon the pretended negotiation of the duke of *Lorraine*, and I told you that prince, after having sounded at the Hague, of his own accord had offered his services here; nothing has occurred in this business, since the king's answer stopped it at the commencement. You may depend upon what is stated in the preamble to the memorial I gave you, it depends upon England, whether the king ever addresses himself again to the Dutch, to treat of peace.

There is still less foundation for the offers pretended to be made by the duke of Noailles to the archduke, than for the negotiation set on foot by the duke of Lorraine. In a word, the only one now open for peace is that with you. But make a good use of the confidence reposed in you, for it would be unjust, that the favourable appearances in another quarter should be lost. Do not consider this as a threat, but reflect how imprudent it would be in you to neglect the means of making peace, while we are not certain of any concessions on your part.

I am, &c. De Torcy.

majesty should think proper, to obtain a good peace: but that they looked upon these propositions as yet in the same manner as the Secretary did, to be very dark and general, and designed to create jealousies between her majesty, that republick, and the allies: but they depended upon her majesty's justice and prudence, to prevent any such ill effect: and hoped she would make the French explain more particularly the several points contained in them.

Whatever confidence either party might have in the other on this occasion, lord Raby appears to have been unacquainted with the actual manner, in which the English ministers had determined to carry on the negotiation. In a letter dated May 29, we find Mr. St. John acquainting him, that her majesty would have his Excellency make all possible haste to come over, since her service might better dispense with his absence at this point of time, than it would perhaps do at another, and since they must now expect to have very soon upon the *tapis* many intrigues, concerning which the Queen thought it expedient that lord Raby should confer with the ministers in England, and have his instructions, in relation to them, formed with his own assistance. At the same time, her majesty ordered Mr. St. John to let his Excellency know, that she intended, on his arrival in Britain, to give him that promotion in the peerage which he desired.

Lord Raby, in answer, assured Mr. St. John, that he would venture any thing, and undertake

any thing, to serve the Queen; that the Secretary might venture boldly to trust him with the real intentions, and be assured, that he would not make further use of them, than according to his instructions. He told the Secretary likewise, that "if the thing was actually gone no farther than it appeared, and France had not yet explained; and he had a mind, that he should come over for the Queen's service, he was ready to come in a yacht, frigate, packet-boat, or any way: and concluded in short, that the Secretary might dispose of him as he pleased, for all his desire was to serve her majesty to her satisfaction, and he should never grudge any danger or pains." This voluntary and frank declaration he desired might be communicated to the duke of Shrewsbury and Mr. Harley. Mr. Harley was now made earl of Oxford and High Treasurer. The coolness between Mr. St. John and him was beginning. Mr. St. John's confidential sentiments respecting Mr. Harley are rather curious. In a letter to the earl of Orrery, dated May 18, he says, "Mr. Harley, since his recovery, has not appeared at the council, or at the treasury at all, and very seldom in the house of commons. We, who are reputed to be in his intimacy, have few opportunities of seeing him, and none of talking freely with him. As he is the only true channel through which the Queen's pleasure is conveyed; so there is, and must be a perfect stagnation, till he is pleased to open himself, and set the water flowing." In a letter

to

to the same, dated June 12th, after mentioning Harley's promotion, he adds, "This great advancement is, what the labour he has gone through, the danger he has run, and the services he has performed, seem to deserve. But he stands on slippery ground, and envy is always near the great, to fling up their heels on the least trip which they make. The companions of his evil fortune are most likely to be the supporters of his good; and I dare say he makes this a maxim to himself; for though he often wants that grace and openness, which engage the affection, yet I must own, I never knew that he wanted either the constancy or the friendship, which engages the esteem."

In the mean time a secret negotiation between France and England was attempted, by sending the celebrated poet, Mr. Prior, to Paris, where he arrived about the middle of July, and returned with Monsieur Mesnager, a French agent, in the beginning of August. Mr. St. John declares to one of his correspondents, that, whatever might be the fate of this negotiation, the English ministers were determined not to fall into the snare of detaching themselves from their allies, or doing any thing which might in the least appear a breach of friendship toward the States of Holland. Mesnager was vested with full power to treat, conclude, and sign with such ministers as should be authorized, in due form, not by Britain only, but by any of the princes and states then at war with France. Prior's instructions

tions were more laconick, consisting only of these words, signed by the Queen: "Mr. Prior is fully instructed and authorized to communicate our preliminary demands to France, and to report the answer to us." The first rumour of Prior's journey gave considerable alarm, from it's being so secret. Lord Peterborough thought, that it was neither proper nor possible to disown the fact, and Mr. St. John, to whom he communicated this opinion, thought, that to take any pains either to deny or own it was below the character of the Queen.

The Queen's memorial, which Prior delivered at Fontainebleau, demanded a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands, and another on the Rhine for the empire, a security for the Dutch commerce, and a general satisfaction to all her allies. She required, that the strong places taken from the duke of Savoy should be restored; and that he should possess such towns and districts in Italy, as had been ceded to him in treaties between him and his allies: that Lewis should acknowledge queen Anne and the Protestant succession; demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk, and agree to a new treaty of commerce: that Gibraltar and Port Mahon should be yielded to the crown of England: that the negro trade in America, at that time carried on by the French, should be ceded to the English. She expected security, that her subjects trading to Spain should enjoy all advantages granted by that crown to the most favoured nation: that she should be put in

possession

possession of Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay, either by way of restitution or cession, and that both nations should continue to enjoy whatever territories they might be possessed of in North America at the ratification of the treaties. She likewise insisted upon a security, that the crown of France and Spain should never be united on the same head. Prior's powers, however, of negotiating being limited, Mesnager accompanied him to London; and the Queen commissioned the duke of Shrewsbury, the earls of Jersey, Dartmouth, Oxford, and Mr. St. John, to treat with him. On the 8th of October certain preliminary articles were signed by the French minister and by the two secretaries of state; and the lord Raby, now earl of Strafford, was sent to the Hague, to communicate these proceedings to the States, with the Queen's approbation of them, and to propose a place where the plenipotentiaries should assemble. The States were at first alarmed, and sent an envoy extraordinary to the Queen, to intercede that she would alter her resolution; but the Queen being peremptory, Utrecht was fixed upon as the place of meeting.

In this affair, Mr. St. John appears to have taken a very active part, and was particularly urgent in propagating the idea, that the Queen would never take any measures contrary to the publick interest, or without the participation of Holland, in matters relating to the common cause: and that her conduct, throughout the whole course of the war, must put every one in the

the wrong who pretends to suspect the contrary. In a letter to the English envoy in Holland, he says, "You will do well to insinuate, that she is Queen of Britain, and that the interests of this island are not any longer to be deemed the property of other people. Certain it is, that she will use Holland as her best and nearest ally; let the Dutch take care to observe the same conduct, and the union of the two nations is indissoluble."

In a letter to the earl of Orrery, he complains of the load of business he now had on his hands, in comparison of which all that he ever went through in his life was but a trifle. The business of the negotiations for peace belonged properly to lord Dartmouth's department, but had, it would appear, devolved on Mr. St. John. It would appear also, that he was impeded and calumniated by libels. In a letter to the Queen, dated October 17, he informs her majesty, that he had discovered the author of another scandalous libel, who was to be in custody that afternoon; and adds, "he will make the thirteenth I have seized, and the fifteenth I have found out." One of these libellers was Dr. Hare, Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, and afterward bishop of Chichester, whom he frequently calls the duke of Marlborough's "stupid chaplain." The duke had at this time discontinued his correspondence with the ministry, and was inclined to throw himself into the hands of the opposition. He was, in the opinion of Mr. St. John, pursuing every counsel

counsel that was the worst for him. On the 23d of October, fourteen booksellers, printers, or publishers, whom Mr. St. John had apprehended, appeared at the bar of the court of the Queen's Bench, for sundry libels; but at the request of the Attorney General, they were dismissed on their recognizances till the last day of term.

During the progress of this treaty, the particulars of which may be seen in the historians of the day, Mr. St. John carried on a very extensive correspondence, both publick and confidential. The former have been incorporated in history, but there are a few passages in the latter, which may be introduced here, as affording some knowledge of the art, with which he was inclined, or obliged, to keep in temper the English ministers at foreign courts, and often as characteristick of his own disposition.

In a letter to the earl of Strafford, who appears to have been somewhat suspicious, and inclined to complain of a want of reciprocal confidence, Mr. St. John thus apologizes:

"I must begin by taking notice of those frequent reproaches, which I meet with from your Excellency, as if you was not trusted even in those matters which belong to the negotiation at this time in your hands.

"I am sorry, my Lord, that my manner of acting is so awkward, as to make me appear reserved, where I endeavour most to be frank. On the other side, your Excellency must allow me to tell you, that you very frequently overthink the point,

point, imagine great secrets to lie latent where really there are none; and, by consequence, blame your friends for not communicating what they do not know. Besides, there are some things of no small consequence, that escape me in writing, like the prorogation of the parliament. These become matters of moment in Holland, and your Excellency wonders, that you do not hear of them from me. For God's sake, my Lord, lay aside these jealousies; little omissions would be made sometimes by the greatest men, if they were involved in as much business as the Queen thinks fit to trust to me, much more may I be allowed to mistake. The tenour of my conduct shall be always right; and as to your Excellency in particular, I am not conscious to myself, that in the least article I have ever departed from the strictest friendship, and the most unlimited confidence."

In another letter to the same nobleman, dated Dec. 15, 1711, he says,

"You are right, we are the worst politicians, and the best party-men under the sun. Those who oppose the Queen's measures know, as well as we who pursue them, that the war is become impracticable; that the end which they pretend to aim at, is chimerical; and that they ruin their country by driving on this vain, gaudy scheme, which has so many years dazzled our eyes: but they venture this, and would sacrifice more, if more can be sacrificed, in order to regain dominion, which nothing can give, at least secure in

their

their hands, but national distress. The true, real, genuine strength of Britain, belongs to other people: their power is built upon an adventitious strength, created by the publick necessity, and nursed up by the advantage, which dexterous men have taken, and which they will be able to take no longer when the war ceases.

"Now my pen is in my hand, I cannot forbear saying, that I sincerely think this the most important conjuncture, that any prince has been in, since the time that your Excellency's ancestor* was attacked by the faction, which begun with him, and did not conclude their tragedy even with his master. That king sealed the warrant of his own execution, when he gave up his servant, and our mistress has no way of securing herself, but exerting her power to protect her ministers, who have rescued her from domestick bondage, and are going on to relieve her from foreign oppression. I will never deceive you, my Lord, I would not do it, even in the most pardonable, the most agreeable manner, by concealing real dangers, and giving false hopes; you may therefore depend upon me when I tell you, that I think all safe, and the Queen determined.

"The only difficulty she laboured under, be-

* Thomas Wentworth, created earl of Strafford 1639, attainted and beheaded 1641: about the end of that year, his son William was restored to his titles, but all his honours became extinct in 1695, except the barony of Raby, which came by limitation to this Thomas Wentworth, as heir of sir William Wentworth, brother to Thomas, first earl of Strafford.

side

side a little natural slowness, was the habit which she has with the duchess of Somerset, and the apprehension of not finding somebody to fill a place so near her person, whom she could like.

"I need make no apology for entering so minutely into these matters, since your Excellency is too much engaged in the Queen's cause, not to be desirous of knowing every particular how it fares."

Addressing the earl of Peterborough sometime after this, he uses this animated and apparently earnest language:

"It would be a real and a very great mortification to me, if I imagined your Lordship had entertained the least doubt of that friendship which I profess to have for you; my habits at court have neither taught me to show what I do not feel, nor to hide what I do; and my love and my hate are so far from not appearing in my words and actions, that they generally sit in my very face.

"As I endeavour to do this justice to my own heart, so, my Lord, you must give me leave to do the same to those friends, whom you left behind you; and who, I dare answer for them, have the same esteem for your merit, the same affection for your person, and the same zeal for your service, which they ever had. But, my Lord, in all your experience, I may venture to affirm, you never passed through such a scene of confusion and difficulty as this winter has afforded us; and though we have kept one point of view steadily in

sight, and worked towards it, yet have been forced to shift our course, and try different measures, almost every day.

"Faction can invent nothing more ruinous to the publick, the rage of woman nothing more barbarous toward particular men, than some of the intrigues which have been lately carried on. At the same time, a nice negotiation has been on foot, wherein not Britain alone, but all Europe, not the present age alone, but posterity are deeply concerned; and this with an enemy, who wants no inclination to take advantages, nor skill to manage them.

"To these causes, and to others of a near resemblance to these, be pleased, my lord, to attribute the state of darkness and uncertainty, which you complain you have been left in. The Queen has, from week to week, expected the moment when her affairs, and the great business now in agitation, would require the employing you in a post worthy of your talents, and, I believe, agreeable to your wishes. That moment is not very far off, and I take it for granted, that the earl of Dartmouth has already hinted to your lordship, what you are to expect.

"As to my own part, my lord, in parliament or out of it, as I will always deserve your friendship, so I flatter myself, I shall always have it. But, my lord, as to my conduct in the negotiation for a peace, I shall want no justification. I have, it is true, acted as boldly in the promoting that good work, as your lordship used to do,

where you thought the interest of your country at stake; and I tell you, without any gasconade, that I had rather be banished for my whole life, because I have helped to make the peace, than be raised to the highest honours, for having contributed to obstruct it*; however, God be praised! we run no risque of this kind; the eyes of mankind are opened, and they begin to see the falsehood of that system of politics, on which we have acted so many years together."

In a letter to the earl of Strafford, dated July 23, 1712, Mr. St. John, now Lord Bolingbroke, says,

"I do so much justice to your merit upon every occasion, and have a heart so warm with zeal for your service, and affection to your person, that whenever you seem but to doubt thereof, or to take umbrage at any loose expression which falls, perhaps, too negligently from my pen, I own I am thoroughly shocked. You and I, my lord, have been fellow labourers in the most necessary, but at the same time, the most difficult and perilous negotiation that has ever been carried on. I flatter myself that you have discovered constancy in my proceedings, and firmness and sincerity in my temper. Depend upon it, the

* This passage is remarkable, on account of the event verifying the assertion. Upon the return of the Whig administration, at the accession of George I. Bolingbroke was impeached for helping to make the peace, and actually went into a voluntary exile.—Parke's Letters of Lord Bolingbroke, vol. ii. p. 305.

same

same character shall be supported by me in my private life, and I will be as resolutely true to the interest of my friend, as to that of my country.

"Your merit in all the late transactions at the army, every creature sees and acknowledges; and I need not mention the reason why I was much more careful in penning my compliment to the duke of Ormond, than to your lordship: but enough of this; be assured, once for all, that in me you have a faithful servant, and that no danger, no actual misfortune, could be able to separate me from your lordship.

"I am to thank you, my lord, for the very kind part which you took in the honour her majesty was lately pleased to confer upon me. It would ill become the friendship I profess to you, if I did not naturally own what passes in my soul upon this subject, and confess to you, what I will do to no one else, that my promotion was a mortification to me. In the house of commons, I may say, that I was at the head of business, and I must have continued so, whether I had been in court or out of court. There was therefore nothing to flatter my ambition in removing me from thence, but giving me the title which had been many years in my family, and which reverted to the crown about a year ago, by the death of the last of the elder house *. To make me a peer was no great compliment, when so many others were forced to be made to gain a strength

* The earldom, granted in 1624, and extinct 1711.

in parliament; and since the Queen wanted me below stairs in the last session, she could do no less than make me a viscount, or I must have come in the rear of several whom I was not born to follow. Thus far, there seems to be nothing done for my sake, or as a mark of favour to me in particular; and yet farther, her majesty would not go without a force, which never shall be used by me. I own to you that I felt more indignation than ever in my life I had done; and the only consideration which kept me from running to extremities, was that which should have inclined somebody to use me better *. I knew that any appearance of breach between myself and the lord treasurer, would give our common enemies spirit, and that if I declined serving at this juncture, the home part of the business would, at least for some time, proceed but lamely. To friendship therefore, and the publick good, if I may be pardoned so vain an expression, I sacrificed my private resentment, and remained clothed with as little of the Queen's favour as she could contrive to bestow.—It is a melancholy consideration that the laws of the country are too weak to punish effectually those factious scribblers, who presume to blacken the brightest characters, and to give even scurrilous language

* Harley, in his Brief Account, says, when the creation of peers took place, December 1711, it was proposed to Mr. St. John, that if he would be content to remain in the house of commons that session, her majesty would create him a peer, and that he should not lose his rank.—Parke, vol. ii. p. 485.

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to those who are in the first degrees of honour. This, my lord, among others, is a symptom of the decayed condition of our government, and serves to show how fatally we mistake licentiousness for liberty. All I could do was to take up Hurt, the printer, to send him to Newgate, and to bind him over upon bail to be prosecuted; this I have done; and if I can arrive at legal proof against the author, Ridpath, he shall have the same treatment *."

This last passage is rather curious. We have already seen that lord Bolingbroke was grievously offended at those he calls libellers, who were, in other words, the literary supporters of the party in opposition to him; yet Bolingbroke not only employed writers to defend the measures of his administration, but wrote in the periodical papers himself, and generally furnished his writers with

* Hurt was bailed; Ridpath, the editor of the Flying Post, was taken up a few days after. It appears by a letter of the former, that, to make his peace with government, he promised to send the communications he should receive from the country, to the secretary's office. In the following year, a Mr. Bonet offered proposals for a patent to the following effect: to have the sole liberty of printing all advertisements, except such as shall be printed in the London Gazette; he alleges, that the profits arising from advertisements, is the great encouragement to printers of newspapers, and that if that benefit were taken from them, most of them would cease to print, by which means a great deal of scandalous reflections, &c. would be prevented. He proposes to print every day a paper called the Daily Advertiser, the price of each advertisement 3s. 6d. viz. 1s. for the duty, and 2s. 6d. for the publisher. Bonet's paper is dated 19th August, 1713.—Parke, vol. ii. p. 436.

the information and arguments on which they were to work. Were the writings on both sides now before the publick, it would probably be found that although the suppressive arm of power was on one side, the "scurrilous language" was pretty equally divided.

Notwithstanding the labours of lord Bolingbroke in promoting the negotiation, it was protracted by one difficulty or another until the month of July 1712, when it was determined to send his lordship incognito to France, to remove, as his instructions expressed it, "all difficulties and differences that might obstruct the general suspension of arms between England and France from taking place, or settling the treaty of peace in such a course, as might bring it to a happy and speedy conclusion." Accordingly he set out for Dover on the second of August, accompanied by Prior and the Abbé Gaultier. The next day he landed at Calais, and, according to the historians of that period, his whole journey to Paris was not less marked with high respect than his arrival in that city. In his first letter from Fontainbleau, addressed to the other secretary, lord Dartmouth, he informs him, that he took all possible precaution to conceal his name, and to avoid all sort of ceremony, by stopping to refresh himself as little as possible; and when he did stop, by choosing to do it out of the great towns. His care was however, in great measure, fruitless; and they did their utmost, in the places through which he passed, to show their respect to his royal mistress;

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so that he arrived at least as much fatigued with compliments as tired with his journey.

Having accomplished the object of his mission with much address and firmness, he took leave of the king of France August 27, receiving from his majesty a diamond ring, valued at about 4000l. sterling. He left Mr. Prior at Paris to take care of some private affairs still under negotiation, and resumed the management of affairs at home. His disputes with the lord treasurer began now to weaken the influence of their party, and fresh obstructions being thrown in the way of the negotiation, lord Bolingbroke became more and more impatient to bring it to a conclusion, as the only means of defeating the whig interest, which was now beginning to prevail. How anxious he was on this occasion, and what were his ideas of the enemies of his party and his country, will appear from the following extracts from two letters, the one addressed to the earl of Strafford, March 19, 1712-13, and the other to the lord privy seal, of the same date, and consequently when his mind was pursuing the same train of thought.

To the earl of Strafford he says, "It is, I think, necessary that your lordship should know the present state of things at home, in so critical a conjuncture; and I believe you will be of opinion, that they must, to a certain degree, be respected in all governments, more especially in a government like ours. The making of the peace, my lord, will vex none but those who are

vexed already, and of whom I hope the resolution is taken of never striving to please; beside which, it is to be considered, that as the conclusion of your work will exasperate, so it will disarm and dispirit.

"On the other hand, the long suspense of the treaty gives hopes to this faction, and consequently increases their clamour, and whets their rage; while those who wish well to their country, and who, thanks be to God! are a vast majority in every part of the kingdom, grow tired with expectation, and uneasy under the delay.

"If all the parties concerned are ready at once to sign, that, to be sure, is most eligible. But if the Queen's peace is made, and the terms for her allies ascertained, you will find the sense of the nation to be, that we have staid long enough, and that it was time to resolve to stay no longer. Upon the whole matter, we should ward against the objections of your friends; our enemies will never want any.

"I flatter myself that these last orders and powers will remove all difficulties, and dissipate all doubts, and that we shall very soon receive from your hands the most welcome present you can make to your Queen and country."

To the lord privy seal he says, "Give me leave, my lord, to say a word or two in this private letter, of public business. We are surrounded with implacable enemies, a faction at home, not numerous but desperate. I wish I had no reason to add to these, our confederates abroad:

abroad: no condescension, no temper, no moderation, can abate the edge of the malice of this league, and till the peace is made, their malice is terrible: because, God alone can tell what accidents may happen, and they are ready to improve any to the common confusion. The bulk of the nation is declaredly against these people, and is aware of their designs: but then, as it too often happens in a good cause, our friends are apt to cool, which renders them no match for the fury of party agitators, and they languish under the long expectation of what they ardently wish. This is not all. The reasons of the delay of the treaty cannot be exposed to publick view, and if they could, few would be competent judges of the validity of them. Whereas, every man will feel the difference of the national expense, and many perhaps will imagine it greater than in truth it will be. The use I would presume to make of these reflections, and of divers others which your lordship's thoughts will better suggest to you than I can pretend to do, is the necessity either of signing immediately in conjunction with the allies, or of signing on the Queen's part, without staying for them. The first is to be sure best, but the last is infinitely better than a delay of twenty-four hours.

"Your lordships are, it is very true, in the eye of faction, and every step you take is exposed to the comment of party; but so are those who have the honour to serve with you; we serve together, and, by the grace of God, we will stand

and

and fall together; of the latter, I think, there is no danger, but by the failure or longer delay of the peace."

In these extracts, the reader will easily discover the language of a patriot employed in the cause of a party. Bolingbroke was intriguing by every means to gain the superiority, and could not conceal his dislike of lord Oxford, and the Queen's frequent illness threatened the dissolution of the Tories, although that did not precisely take place in the way they expected.

Among his other intrigues, he had formed a scheme to put himself and the chancellor Harcourt at the head of the high-church party, and had opposed the duke of Shrewsbury's being sent over to France. Harley's counterplot, however, by the aid of lady Masham, was more successful. The outline of it was, that the duke of Ormond was to stay in England, to attend the army affairs, which was necessary at the time of disbanding: that the duke of Shrewsbury should go to Ireland, as lord lieutenant, upon his return from France: that the earl of Findlater should be chancellor of Scotland: the earl of Mar third secretary of state: the lord Dartmouth privy-seal: Mr. Speaker Bromley secretary of state: and Sir William Wyndham chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of Robert Benson, lately created lord Bingley, and named ambassador extraordinary to the court of Madrid. Most of these changes were declared from the middle of August to the middle of September, to the great mortification of lord Bolingbroke and his friends. About the beginning

beginning of January 1713-14, we find him again intriguing against Harley, and the papers in which he was concerned, endeavouring to prepare the minds of the people for another change of administration.

The Queen's indisposition was now becoming serious, and interesting to the contending parties. Bolingbroke's sentiments on the importance of this event to himself, his friends, and the country, unfold many traits of his real and assumed character.

In a letter to the earl of Anglesey, dated January 25, 1713-14, he says,

"The Queen, God be praised! is finely recovered, though the gout still confines her, and gives occasion, or rather colour (for they want no occasion to lie) to the Whigs, daily and hourly, to spread a thousand rumours of her sickness sometimes, and sometimes of her death. But still she has but one life, and whenever that drops, if the church interest is broke, without concert, without confidence, without order, we are of all men the most miserable. The Whigs will be united, and ready to take any hint which their leaders shall give; I will not say, that the inclination of the House of Hanover is to the Whigs, I intend to be for them, and therefore hope better things of them; but this I will say, that I shall be sorry to see it, in any degree, made their interest, to give in to that party, whose tyranny we have felt, and the consequences of whose administration the next generation must expect to feel also."

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It is certain that at this time the Queen's illness had been so much exaggerated as to affect the state of the funds, and even occasion a run upon the Bank, and her Majesty thought proper to write to the lord mayor, informing the city by him, that she was recovered, and meant to open parliament on February 16. This letter, says Bolingbroke, was received with transports of joy, and would, he hoped, put some stop to those infamous proceedings, by which the Whigs on this occasion showed, what they had always had at heart, ingratitude and disloyalty. This hope, which he expressed in a letter to the Queen, he calls a harsh expression, but imputes it to his zeal for her majesty's welfare. The alarm, however, as far as it affected all parties, was for some time dissipated. In a letter to the earl of Strafford, dated February 13, 1713, lord Bolingbroke again expresses his satisfaction, and of what importance the Queen's life was to the contending parties:

"I will begin with the most welcome news I can send you, which is, that our mistress has recovered to a miracle, and is I think now, at least as well as she was before her late illness. The faction in London, who showed their joy scandalously and simply, when they believed her dying, think it best to support their own hearts, and the hearts of their brethren, by giving out that her majesty is still in a very dangerous condition. I cannot help on this occasion telling you, that when Prior talked of the Queen's recovery,

covery, Buys (then the Dutch Ambassador at Paris) was wise and discreet enough to let him know he did not believe a word of what he said.

"On Tuesday, the parliament opens by commission: the same day her majesty leaves Windsor, will lie, I believe, a night at Hampton Court, and speak at the end of the week to the two houses. The clamour which the Whigs raise, and the rage which they express, are almost without example.

"Timorous unexperienced people are alarmed, here and abroad. I make no doubt, but you find those who measure the strength of this party by the noise they make. But, my lord, for my part, I sleep in perfect tranquillity; we are in the true interest of our country, we have no aims which we need be ashamed to own; the whole body of the commons is well disposed, and I think we have a majority in the house of lords. I hope, that in this house we shall hang more closely together, than we did the last year, and that a number of us shall constantly and warmly debate every point that, day by day, the Whigs interpose in. This is the true way of supporting, as it is of creating a majority, and for this purpose I could heartily wish that you were among us. The great load we have lain under, has been the pretended insecurity of the succession; this I think the Queen has taken an effectual method to remove. Mr. Harley, who will set out immediately, has orders, when he renews those assurances,

ances, which have been so frequently given by the Queen, of her firm resolution to support the succession of the family of Hanover, to take notice to the princess Sophia, and to the elector, that these inclinations of the Queen's continuing the same, the laws on which their right to the crown is established, continuing the same, and the oaths of the people, in which we are all bound in the most solemn manner, continuing likewise the same; it will be very unjust, and very disagreeable to her majesty, if they themselves, or any employed by them, should give the least encouragement or countenance to the clamours raised by a faction, who mean nothing less than the real advantage of that family, and whose only view is to regain the power, which they abused, even at the expence of the publick tranquillity. He is farther to represent, that the Queen determines to bring the question, about the security of their succession, to a short issue, and therefore has commanded him to ask of them, whether they have any additional securities to propose? If they have none, he will say that the Queen must understand them to be satisfied with those which now subsist; if they have any, he will promise to make a faithful report to the Queen of them; and will add, that he has orders to assure them beforehand, that in case the proposals they make, are consistent with the Queen's honour, her safety, with the terms of the laws by which the crown is entailed, her majesty will not only consent to, but promote all such proposals. He

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is farther to declare, that if the propositions, inconsistent with these three points, are made in any other place, or by any other persons, for the Queen will not imagine that propositions contrary to her honour, her safety, or the law, can come from them, her majesty will never yield to these, and all her faithful servants will, to the utmost, oppose them. He is to expect an explicit answer, before he leaves the court of Hanover. I make no remarks on this instruction, nor on the natural effect of it, both abroad and at home."

At the meeting of this parliament, after a long debate from two in the afternoon till nine in the evening, the protestant succession was voted out of danger, by a majority of two voices only, seventy-six against seventy-four. It is only noticeable, as far as lord Bolingbroke was concerned in this debate, that the earl of Anglesea, who had spoken and voted against his party, supped the same evening with lord Bolingbroke and two days afterward appeared at the minister's levee. To account for this, it was supposed that they had found means to regain him by the promise of the government of Ireland, and it is certain that lord Bolingbroke thought him of great consequence.

On lord Bolingbroke's sincerity respecting the Protestant succession, Mr. Coxe, in his valuable life of sir Robert Walpole, throws suspicions which, however probable or improbable, may here be noticed. Mr. Coxe thinks it may be conjectured, that

that Bolingbroke and Ormond might have caballed with Berwick and the agents of the Pretender, with a view only of obtaining the dismission of Oxford, and the support of the Jacobites; and might, as soon as they had secured themselves in their places, have followed the example of Oxford. In corroboration of this argument, it appears from a letter of Erasmus Lewis to Swift, that Bolingbroke, at this period, courted the principal leaders of the Whigs, and Walpole himself admitted that Bolingbroke had held a meeting with them for the purpose of arranging the terms of a coalition, at which he gave the most positive assurances of his good wishes to the protestant succession: but when it was insisted that, as a proof of his sincerity, the Pretender should be removed to such a distance as would prevent his interference in the affairs of England, he declared his inability to obtain the consent of the Queen, to what she deemed the banishment of her brother." But as Mr. Coxe in a subsequent passage seems to think it difficult unquestionably to trace the designs or fathom the politics of one whom he styles "artful and unprincipled," let us see what was lord Bolingbroke's confidential opinion to the earl of Strafford, as expressed in a letter dated March 23:

"It is indeed, my lord, surprisingly strange, that alliances with Denmark, Prussia, or any other foreign power, can be esteemed at Hanover as true expedients for securing the succession to the crown of Britain. Our laws, our oaths, a

just concern for our religion and liberty, will keep the nation firm and steady in their adherence to a protestant, and in their opposition to a popish prince. But if a pretended danger of the succession shall be made use of, to introduce foreign forces among us, the object of men's fears may come in time to be changed. Britain must not on any account be made the theatre of confusion; our crown has been given, but our country must not be conquered; and they are the worst enemies of the house of Hanover, who go about to persuade them, that the latter is either necessary or practicable."

To this it is necessary to add a few passages from a letter to the lord chancellor of Ireland, dated April 13.

"Union among those who wish well to the constitution, in church and state, is, to speak in the language of Secretary, a condition *sine quâ non*.

"The prospect before us is dark and melancholy; what will happen, no man is able to foretell; but this proposition is certain, that, if the members of the church of England lay aside their little piques and resentments, and cement closely together, they will be too powerful a body to be ill treated.

"I make no doubt but your lordship has heard of some differences, which subsist among us at this time; for my part, I will go any length to reconcile them, but one. I cannot sit still under the opprobrious reflections, which the Whigs

cast daily forth; nor be treated as a criminal, when I am conscious myself of having deserved well, for my part, of my country."

To Mr. Prior he thus writes, April 20.—"If you have not heard oftener from me, on the subject of our domestick affairs, the reason has been, because I could not tell what to write that would have been intelligible to you. Since we are at a loss how to account for our own proceedings, it is no wonder, that you foreigners are in the dark concerning them.

"You are in the right, dear Matt, when you say, that those, who cannot bear the impertinence and unreasonableness of the world, ought to retire. But give me leave to add, that those who can bear these, and a thousand other faults of this naughty world, are likewise in the right to retire, when by their patience they neither do honour to God, service to their prince, good to their country, nor kindness to their friends. You will apply this general observation as you judge proper.

"The Whigs have affronted the Queen, and teased her servants almost a month without control; at last a spirit has been exerted, which should, in my poor opinion, have been sooner shown, and they have been defeated in all their attacks, though fortified by a considerable detachment from our party.

"The danger of the succession, and the insecurity of the peace, were the two principal articles of clamour; one has been voted not in

danger,

danger, and the other has been declared safe, honourable, and advantageous; the divisions in the two houses upon these occasions have made our numbers less, but our strength greater."

In a letter to the earl of Strafford, dated May 18, he pledges his character yet more explicitly; and, whatever his future conduct, we have here at least the language of a man who feels what he says:

"I agree with your lordship in the fact you represent, and in the causes you assign; but the main cause of all, that which must be altered, or no other remedies can prove effectual, is our home economy: till the Queen's government is on a stable foot, and those who serve her are, by their authority, as well as their personal character, *hors d'insulte*, little reverence will be paid, either at home or abroad, to the administration, little dependence on it will be shown, and we shall hope in vain to see the natural and genuine effects of that great work, which your lordship had so great a share in accomplishing, produced. That the Queen may be able to bring this to pass, I most heartily wish, for the honour, for the quiet of her own reign, and for the happiness of our country; and if it be brought to pass, I assure your lordship it shall be indifferent to me by what hands it is so.

"The little I could do, I have done honestly, zealously, indefatigably, toward this end; the consciousness of which will be a reward to me, and I have learned to expect no other.

"For my own part, my duty and allegiance are to the Queen during her time, and my respect shall be paid the successor in no manner which is inconsistent with that first obligation. After the Queen, if I live after her, I will be true to my principle, and to my call, at the expense of all I have: these are the sentiments of the best and honestest men, and will be found to be so, whenever the trial shall be made. I am not fond of speaking on any subject concerning myself, and especially on this, because what I profess and swear to be for, he that believes me to be against, shall never make me think it worth my while to go about to convince him. But to you, in friendship, I say thus much, because, among those artifices, which I detest and despise, it has been thought proper to insinuate to the world, that I leaned to another interest, and that the disputes which have lately happened at court were occasioned by the favour of some men to the Pretender's cause; and then your servant has been named with such others as desired method, concert, perspicuity, steadiness, and vigour in the administration."

During the latter part of the Queen's reign, Bolingbroke was actively concerned in many of the measures proposed or permitted by his party. When the Queen returned an answer to the address of the parliament against the Pretender, in which she declined offering a reward for apprehending him, the hopes of his friends became so elevated, that about the end of March, an agent of king James's queen offered to file a bill in chancery,

chancery, wherein he demanded, in her name, the sum of six hundred and fifty thousand pounds, due to her by the crown of England, for the dowry of 50000l. *per annum* since the death of king James the second. Although no notice was taken of this singular demand, yet, pursuant to a private agreement made in France by lord Bolingbroke, about 50000l. were remitted thither for her use; no inconsiderable proof, that queen Anne, who must have been privy to the transaction, was not much more a well-wisher to the protestant succession than Bolingbroke, who, as we see before, was suspected upon weaker grounds.

On the 13th of April, the ministry played off a manœuvre, in which, whether fair or otherwise, Bolingbroke had a considerable share. In order to procure popularity for their treaties with France and Spain, among other papers laid before the house was a report from the commissioners of publick accounts, concerning abuses in clothing the army, in disposing of the off-reckonings of regiments, and in other instances; and, to prove that the war was become almost, if not quite insupportable by England, it was stated, that the late war, for twelve years, including a supply of nearly three millions granted this year, had cost sixty-eight millions and a half. A more remarkable paper, presented at the same time, was an account of the state of the several treaties of peace between the Queen and her allies, and France and Spain, with the obstructions she had

met with, in her endeavours to make the same universal and complete. This account was drawn up by lord Bolingbroke, and is a very ingenious vindication of himself and his colleagues; nor did it fail of producing the effect he expected. Members of parliament were gained to the ministry, and the publick was satisfied. The reader may see it in Rapin.

In the month of May, when Bolingbroke, more now under suspicion of being unfriendly to the protestant succession, was disuniting himself from the minister, and joining the high-church party, the discouragement of the dissenters presented itself as a necessary step. With this view, sir William Wyndham introduced the celebrated bill, "to prevent the growth of schism, and for the further security of the church of England as by law established." It passed the house of commons, although after very warm debates, by a very great majority. It is said, that many of the harshest enactments, proposed by Bolingbroke, Atterbury, and Wyndham, were erased by the lord-treasurer. When, however, it came to the house of lords, lord Bolingbroke spoke for it as a bill of the last importance, since it concerned the security of the church of England, the best and firmest support of the monarchy: both which, all good men, and, in particular, that august assembly, who derive their lustre from, and are nearest the throne, ought to have most at heart: and therefore, he moved, that it should be read a second time. The duke of Wharton's

speech

speech pointed so closely to lord Bolingbroke, with respect to his education and moral character, that a short extract will save us the trouble of making any remarks on his lordship's zeal for a *church*.

The witty duke said, "He was agreeably surprised to see, that some men of pleasure were, on a sudden, become so religious, as to set up for patrons of the church. But he could not but wonder, that persons who had been educated in dissenting academies, whom he could point at, and whose tutors * he could name, should appear the most forward in suppressing them. That this was but an indifferent return for the benefit the publick had received from those schools, which had bred those great men, who had made so glorious a peace, and treaties that executed themselves; who had obtained so great advantages for our commerce, and who had paid the publick debts without any farther charge to the nation. So that he could see no reason for suppressing those academies, unless it were an apprehension, that they might still produce greater geniuses, that should drown the merits and abilities of those great men."—Lord Bolingbroke does not appear to have been prepared with a ready answer to this irony. The bill however was read a second time *nem. con.*, and put off to the 7th of June, and, after some alterations, finally passed, and received the assent on the 25th of June; but the

* See the early part of Goldsmith's Life of our Author.

Queen dying on the day it was to have taken effect, it became in a manner a nullity.

That his lordship's zeal for the church may not be denied any proof of sincerity that can be advanced, we shall now give an extract from a letter on the subject, which he addressed to the lord chancellor of Ireland, during the debates on the schism bill.

"I hoped that the whole church interest would, as one man, have laid hold of this favourable conjuncture, to support the Queen, exclusive of all other assistance, to vest all power in themselves, and by these means to establish themselves for the present age, and for futurity. To these purposes, the best I could do was done; and my lord Anglesey, who was privy to all transactions, and in confidence with whom, I assure your lordship, I have always been particularly desirous to act, is able to tell you, that some of us were empowered to give, from the Queen, the utmost assurances, that an honest Tory heart could wish to receive. It happened, that this made no impression, and as long as the succession remained in danger, nothing else was, it seemed, to be regarded. This danger of the succession was the subject of many private debates, and very fatally, in my opinion, to the church, cause of some publick debate too. I could never hear any symptoms of danger advanced, which were in any degree proportioned to the apprehensions expressed; and when it was asked what remedy, what farther security should be provided, those who expressed

their

their fears had none to offer, but expected that they who saw no distemper should prescribe a method of cure."

After information had been received, that the Pretender's agents were actually employed in enlisting men for his service in this country, the Queen was prevailed upon to issue a proclamation, offering a reward for his apprehension, the ministry not being able to parry the evidence advanced on this occasion. On the same day (June 24) an address of thanks was voted to her majesty for the proclamation; at which lord Bolingbroke, who then came into the house of lords, where the address originated, appeared a little surprised, and said that the more effectual way to secure the succession in the house of Hanover would be to make it high treason to list or be enlisted in the Pretender's service. A bill was accordingly brought, and the committee of the whole house sat under the direction of lord Bolingbroke, the chairman. The principal speakers in favour of the bill endeavoured to show, that the Pretender was inconsiderable of himself, and not to be feared, but so far as he was countenanced and protected by the French king, whose interest and constant design was to impose him upon these realms; and therefore it was moved and agreed, that the title of the bill should be, "To prevent the listing her majesty's subjects to serve as soldiers, without her majesty's license." After a few amendments, this passed into a law. In this proceeding,

ceeding, the reader will perceive an affected contempt for the Pretender, which was supposed to be a covered respect for those secret inclinations of the Queen, at which Bolingbroke so frequently hinted, and which he was desirous to gratify as much as possible, to keep his party together, and in power. On July 3, the parliament was prorogued.

On July 14. lord Bolingbroke describes his feelings and situation, to the earl of Strafford, to this effect:

"You will not wonder at my complaints of want of time, when I tell you, that, for several weeks before the session of parliament rose, there were new plots, day after day, concerting against me; and that those, in the service of whom I have drudged these fifteen years, were the proposers of new confederacies, the cement of which was to be my ruin. This, my lord, is the treatment I have met with; and the only crime, by which the malice that acted these things can pretend to say I ever deserved them, is this,—when the Queen's affairs were come, by slow, but long observed steps, into the utmost confusion; when the party which was at our feet had been nursed up and rendered formidable; when the party that only could support us was under the utmost dissatisfaction, some of them taking part against us, others cool and indifferent spectators; in a word, when every man, who looked on, agreed that we could not carry the business of the session

round;

round; then I presumed, among others, to beg of one man *, as a friend, that he would alter his conduct, and to represent to the Queen, as a faithful servant, that her government was at the brink of destruction."

Dr. Goldsmith, in the preceding Life, has adverted to the absurdity of the disputes between lord Oxford and Bolingbroke; but the latter, there is every reason to believe, had a dislike for Oxford's talents, which he could not suppress, while he knew the fatal consequences that must accrue to both. In the letter just quoted he again alludes to lord Oxford:

"Lord Marlborough's people gave out, that he is coming over, and I take it for granted that he is so †; whether on account of the ill figure he makes abroad, or the good one he hopes to make at home, I shall not determine; but I have reason to think, that some people ‡, who would rather move Heaven and Earth, than either part with their power, or make a right use of it, have lately made overtures to him, and have entered into some degree of concert with his creatures.

"My dear lord, the Queen's affairs are in a deplorable state, by that glorious management, with which, it seems, no man must presume to find fault; we are fallen into contempt abroad, into confusion at home; with a vast majority of the nation on our side, we are insulted by the minority; and with the merit of having made a

* Lord Oxford. † He arrived August 1. ‡ Lord Oxford.

good

good and popular peace, we are reproached by those who lie under the guilt of attempting to prolong a ruinous war."

These disputes, however, were now drawing to a crisis, and had only been suspended, until, by their joint influence, the ministers had obtained the approbation of parliament to their principal measures. After this had been achieved, lord Bolingbroke gained the ascendency so much, that the treasurer found his interest decline, and, after other less steps, in which he was not successful, sent to the Queen an account of publick affairs, from August 8, 1710, to June 8, 1714, with a view to expose the uneasy, turbulent, and ambitious spirit of lord Bolingbroke. But neither had this the intended effect, and he was turned out of place, July 27, in a manner sufficiently mortifying. The same day, the lord Bolingbroke gave a dinner to a mixture of both parties, which made the speculators suppose, that he was securing his interest against whatever occurrences might take place; but during the short period of the Queen's life, he was disappointed in the succession to the discarded treasurer, while the Queen's death was supposed to be precipitated by the divisions among her ministers. A council was held, in which it was represented, that the place of lord-treasurer must be filled, and the duke of Shrewsbury unanimously approved of; and the Queen, now on her death-bed, bestowed upon him the places of lord-treasurer, lord-chamberlain, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This took

place

place on July 30, and on August 1 the Queen expired.

Of all these changes lord Bolingbroke was certainly not aware. In a letter to the lords justices of Ireland, dated July 28, he says,

"The removal of the earl of Oxford from the post of lord high treasurer, the constitution of a commission of the treasury, and several other incidents, which attend such a change, have for a few days interrupted the regular course of business. I hope we shall soon settle into order, and carry on the service with more vigour and dispatch, than has been usual; and then one of the first cares must be to secure the peace of Ireland."

The letters sent to other correspondents on the subject of the Queen's death, when put together, will sufficiently explain the state of lord Bolingbroke's mind on that event.

In a letter to Swift, August 3, 1714: "I have lost all, by the death of the Queen, but my spirit; and I protest to you, I feel that increase upon me. The Whigs are a pack of jacobites: that shall be the cry in a month, if you please."—August 11: "Adieu, love me, and love me better, because, after a greater blow than most men ever felt, I keep up my spirit; am neither dejected at what has passed, nor apprehensive at what is to come. *Mea virtute me involvo.*"

The following polite address, the reader will observe, is of the date of the former of those gay notes to Swift:

"Au Roi,

" Au Roi.

" SIRE, " De Whitehall, le 3me Août, 1714."

" Quoiquoi je crains d'etre importun, je ne scaurois me dispenser plus long-tems, et de suivre mon inclination, et de m'acquitter de mon devoir.

" Je prens donc la liberté, au milieu des acclamations de votre peuple, de temoigner à votre majesté, la joie que je ressens d'etre devenu le sujet d'un aussi grand prince.

" C'est ce même esprit qui agit généralement tout le monde; & les factions qui ont accoutumées d'agiter ce gouvernement, paroissent être cessées. Dieu veuille que la sagesse & la fermeté de votre majesté les puissent empêcher de renaître.

" Quant à moi, j'ose supplier votre majesté d'être persuadée, que les mêmes principes d'honneur & de conscience, qui m'aient porté à servir la feue Reine jusques à sa mort, avec constance & avec fidélité, m'attacheront inviolablement à elle, & que soit à la cour, soit au parlement, soit dans ma province, je tâcherai en tout, & par tout, de mériter le titre de, Sire, de votre Majesté,

" Le très humble, très fidelle,

" Et très obeissant serviteur,

" BOLINGBROKE."

To the earl of Strafford, August 13, 1713.—

" I thank you a thousand times, my dear lord,

for your kind letter. Indeed, the Queen's death was a very great surprise; for though I did not imagine she could hold out long, yet I hoped she would have got over the summer.

"Such little fellows as you mention, who want virtue enough to take the laudable ways of raising themselves in the world, and have, therefore, recourse to all the vile arts of sycophants and parasites, may talk of plots in favour of the Pretender; but sure there never was yet so quiet a transition from one government to another, as the present is likely to be, nay, as the present already is, for we are at this moment in as perfect tranquillity as ever. I hope, for the king's sake, and for our country's sake, that the violent measures of those, who will not be found able to support them when they have advised them, will not be pursued; indeed there is not, from his majesty's character of prudence and caution, reason to suspect that they will: the nation never was in a better temper, it would be a pity not to improve such a disposition.

"For my own part, I doubt not but I have been painted in fine colours to the king. I must trust to my conduct to clear me. I served the Queen to the last gasp as faithfully, as disinterestedly, as zealously, as if her life had been good for twenty years, and she had had twenty children to succeed her. I do not repent doing so, nor envy those who did otherwise: on the same principle will I serve the king, if he employs me; and if he does not, I will discharge my duty honestly

and

and contentedly in the country, and in the house of peers."

To Dr. Goldsmith's Life we now refer for an account of his dismissal from office, and the consequences of it. The articles preferred against him by sir Robert Walpole were so completely in the spirit of party, that it would be impossible from such evidence only, and at this distance of time, when such affairs may be contemplated calmly, to pronounce him guilty of any offence against the state, or at least of any offence in which the whole of the Tory party were not equally implicated. To explain the state of parties at the accession of George I. with more accuracy and fairness than any historian has yet attempted, it will be necessary to transcribe what Mr. Coxe advances on the subject.

"The Tories," says this acute writer, "who, though extremely powerful, both in respect of numbers and property, were censurable for their arrogance, in pronouncing themselves, exclusively, the landholders and proprietors of the kingdom, reviled their opponents as a faction, which leaned for support on the enemies of the church and monarchy, and on the bank, and monied interest, which was, as they said, raised by usury, and founded on corruption.

"The Whigs retaliated by charging the Tories, who formed the bulk of the nation, and included most of the country gentlemen and parochial clergy, with an attachment to the French, and hatred of the Dutch; with all the crimes with

which

which they loaded the framers of the peace of Utrecht, and with favouring the interests of Lewis the Fourteenth, because he supported their idol the Pretender. It is a great injustice, however, to confound, as they did, the characters of the *Tories* and *Jacobites*: for although many of the Tories had, from motives of pique or disappointed ambition, as well as from affection, corresponded with the court of St. Germain's (the Pretender's court) yet it did not follow that they all uniformly entertained the scheme of restoring the dethroned family. The inculpation, however, was not divested of all show of truth: the general principles of the Tories tended strongly to enforce passive obedience and nonresistance, and, as they disapproved the doctrines which occasioned the revolution, censured by implication the Protestant succession. The Jacobites too, disappointed in their towering hopes, favoured this popular misapprehension, by endeavouring to connect the cause and opinions of the Tories with their own. The strong feature of distinction between the Whigs and Tories was, that the Tories were willing to have assented to the resumption of the crown by the Pretender, if he would have embraced the Protestant persuasion; while the Whigs, armed with just diffidence and distrust, and considering the political principles in which he had been educated no less hostile to their liberties, than his faith was to their religious

 persuasion,

persuasion, would admit of no compromise, nor on any terms agree to his restoration.

"The Tories were reinforced by the Jacobites, who possessed great credit abroad, and influence at home; who had acquired an unlimited ascendancy in the clans of Scotland, full of resentment at the act of union, and among the Papists of Ireland, who formed the bulk of that kingdom, and were attached to their cause by every tie of religious consideration. The Whigs, to balance the influence of the Jacobites and Catholicks, had the assistance of the whole body of Dissenters, who, irritated at the severity of the schism-bill, passed under the influence of the Tories, hoped, from a Protestant monarch, and a Whig administration, a repeal of that law.—The Whigs now raised themselves from the despondency into which they had been thrown by the measures of the four last years of the Queen, and hailed the new reign as the commencement of their triumph. The Tories, divided, and irresolute, concealed their chagrin in a show of submission, while they meditated new manœuvres for the attainment of power; and the Jacobites, precipitated from the exultation of hope too fondly indulged, submitted for the present, but resolved to embrace the first opportunity of breaking into open rebellion."

From this fair and impartial account of the state of parties at the time George I. came to the throne, some opinion may be formed of his new administration,

administration, with respect to their treatment of lord Bolingbroke, and the mean and vindictive manner in which they procured, that his dismission from the office of secretary should be accompanied with personal insults, while they admitted into their confidence some of the noblemen with whom he had acted. From pitiful insults, they proceeded to more serious hostilities, and Walpole and his party, with the most intemperate zeal, proposed the impeachment of Bolingbroke, Oxford, and Strafford. Mr. Coxe has said all that can be said in the defence of Walpole and his friends, but it is impossible to reconcile their conduct to the principles, which ought to guide ministers in a constitution where the blame or praise of publick measures must necessarily be shared by the sovereign, the ministers, and the parliament. "Our constitution," said sir William Wyndham on this occasion, "knows no limits to the power of the king, lords, and commons assembled in parliament: and though a subsequent parliament may annul any laws, which a former parliament had decreed, yet it cannot, and ought not to call any ministers to justice for measures which had been sanctioned by the three branches of the legislature."—Lord Bolingbroke assigns as a reason for his flight, that he could not have expected a fair trial, and there was but too much ground for his apprehension. His subsequent conduct in becoming secretary to the Pretender appears to have arisen from indignation at the treatment he had received: but he soon had oppor-

tunity to see through the weakness of that prince and of his party, and he was fully prepared to leave them, when they rudely dismissed him, and followed his dismission with an impeachment as absurd and unjust as that from which he had escaped in England. Whatever lord Bolingbroke's errours as a statesman might be, they derive some excuse from the persecuting spirit of his successors, and they are yet more diminished, when we consider how soon his enemies admitted of his pardon, and reconciliation with his sovereign.

In addition to the brief detail given by Dr. Goldsmith, the reader may again be referred to Mr. Coxe, who has given a very comprehensive account of Walpole's conduct, and endeavoured to account for it. The pardon of Bolingbroke was soon followed by the repeal of the bill of attainder passed against him in 1716, and Walpole, who had moved for that bill, moved also for the repeal; "an act of imprudence," says Mr. Coxe, "which he committed in opposition to the advice of his most approved friends, the opinion of several of the king's ministers, and in contradiction to his own judgment." Mr. Coxe, therefore, attempts to develope the causes, which led to this extraordinary event, and explain the reasons, which induced Walpole to take a step "of which he too late repented." The reader is referred to Chapter 25 of the Life of Walpole for a narrative, elegant, copious, and well authenticated. The conduct of Walpole, however, still

appears

appears ambiguous, nor can Bolingbroke be hastily accused of ingratitude by taking a part against him afterward, since it is allowed, that what Walpole did "was not from his own impulse, but he was gradually led to promote a measure, which he did not approve. The restoration of lord Bolingbroke was the work of the duchess of Kendal, and Walpole, in obedience to the express commands of the king, supported the act," just as we before found Bolingbroke committing his treasons with the Pretender in connivance with the Queen. The whole appears to have been a state-intrigue, in which the respective parties performed their share with very little of that openness and candour, which govern the affairs of private life. Bolingbroke's crime was, we fear, not an uncommon one; he paid court to every party and every individual, who could serve his cause, and he succeeded so far as to compel his original prosecutor to become his advocate against his will; but as he did not fulfil the whole of Bolingbroke's expectations, their mutual aversion remained in it's pristine state, and remained for their respective lives. Bolingbroke has drawn an overcharged picture of Walpole, and the relations of Walpole have since endeavoured to repay him in the same manner. It would be something to exhibit him as a versatile statesman, if in these days of party-spirit and defect of principle we could safely contrast him with one of an opposite character. As an act of *imprudence*, Walpole, however, could not

be guilty of a greater, than by restoring Bolingbroke to his honours. He restored a man of unquestionable talents, and capable not only of forming a party, but of guiding and keeping it together when formed. Disappointed in all his schemes of regaining an official situation, Bolingbroke commenced a systematic opposition to Walpole, and employed his leisure hours, which for a man of pleasure were more numerous than could have been expected, in writing the periodical paper called the Craftsman, and those other treatises, political and philosophical, which are now before the reader.

The indulgence of a habit of reflection and ready composition was peculiar to Bolingbroke; and as, after his political disappointment at home, he began to act the philosopher, he could scarcely write a short note without introducing some remark, or abstract proposition, in order to set off his contempt for the world. How far, however, he deceived himself in this, is obvious, even through the apparent ease and self-satisfaction of his language. A few of these miscellaneous reflections from his private letters may serve to illustrate his character.

II. MISCELLANEOUS REFLECTIONS.

From his Correspondence.

NOTHING is more certain than this truth, that all our wants, beyond those which a very moderate income will supply, are purely imaginary: and that

that his happiness is greater, and better assured, who brings his mind up to a temper of not feeling them, than his who feels them, and has wherewithal to supply them.

- - - - - - - " Vides, quæ maxima credis
" Esse mala, exiguum censum, turpemque repulsam,
" Quanto devites," &c. HOR. Epist. 1, lib. 1.

Which I paraphrased thus, not long ago, in my postchaise:

Survey mankind, observe what risks they run,
What fancied ills, through real dangers shun:
Those fancied ills so dreadful to the great,
A lost election or impaired estate.
Observe the merchant, who, intent on gain,
Affronts the terrours of the Indian main:
Though storms arise, and broken rocks appear,
He flies from poverty, knows no other fear.
Vain men! who might arrive, with toil far less,
By smoother paths, at greater happiness.
For 'tis superior bliss not to desire
That trifling good, which fondly you admire,
Possess precarious, and too dear require.
What hacknied gladiator can you find,
By whom the Olympick crown would be declin'd?
Who, rather than that glorious palm to seize,
With safety combat, and prevail with ease,
Would choose on some inglorious stage to tread,
And, fighting, stroll from wake to wake for bread?

To Swift, March 17, 1719.

Plato looked upon riches, and the other advantages of fortune, to be desirable: but he declared, as you have read in Diogenes Laertius, *Ea etsi non affluerint, nihilominus beatum fore*

sapientem. You may think it, perhaps, hard to reconcile his two journies into Sicily with this maxim, especially since he got fourscore talents of the tyrant. But I can assure you, that he went to the elder Dionysius only to buy books; and to the younger, only to borrow a piece of ground, and a number of men, women, and children, to try his Utopia. Aristippus was in Sicily at the same time; and there passed some Billingsgate between these reverend persons. This philosopher had a much stronger fancy to grow rich than Plato: he flattered, he cracked jests, and danced over a stick, to get some of the Sicilian gold: but still even he took care, *sibi res, non se rebus submittere.* And I remember, with great edification, how he reproved one of his catechumens, who blushed and shrunk back, when his master showed him the way to the bawdyhouse. *Non ingredi turpe est, sed egredi non posse turpe est.* The conclusion of all this is: *un honnête homme* ought to have *cent mille livres de rente,* if you please: but a wise man will be happy with the hundredth part. Let us not refuse riches when they offer themselves; but let us give them no room in our heads or our hearts. Let us enjoy wealth, without suffering it to become necessary to us: and, to finish with one of Seneca's quaint sentences, "Let us place it so, that fortune may take it without tearing it from us." The passage you mention does follow that which I quoted to you, and the advice is good. Solon thought so; nay,

he

he went farther: and you remember the reason he gave for sitting in the council of Pisistratus, whom he had done his utmost to oppose; and who, by the way, proved a very good prince. But the epistle is not writ by Cicero, as you seem to think; it is, if I mistake not, an epistle of Dolabella to him. Cato, you say, would not be of the same mind. Cato is a most venerable name, and Dolabella was but a scoundrel with wit and valour: and yet there is better sense, nay, there is more virtue, in what Dolabella advises, than in the conduct of Cato. I must own my weakness to you. This Cato, so sung by Lucan in every page, and so much better sung by Virgil in half a line, strikes me with no great respect. When I see him painted in all the glorious colours which eloquence furnishes, I call to mind that image of him, which Tully gives in one of his letters to Atticus, or to somebody else: where he says, that having a mind to keep a debate from coming on in the senate, they made Cato rise to speak, and that he talked till the hour of proposing matters was over. Tully insinuates, that they often made this use of him. Does not the moving picture shift? Do you not behold Clarke of Taunton-dean, in the gown of a Roman senator, sending out the members to p——? *To Swift, July* 28, 1721.

I have sometimes thought, that if preachers, hangmen, and moral writers keep vice at a stand, or so much as retard the progress of it, they do as much as human nature admits: a real reformation

mation is not to be brought about by ordinary means: it requires those extraordinary means which become punishments as well as lessons: national corruption must be purged by national calamities.—*To Swift, Jan.* 17, 1730-31.

As to retirement and exercise: the first should not be indulged so much as to render us savage, nor the last neglected so as to impair health. But I know men, who, for fear of being savage, live with all who live with them; and who, to preserve their health, saunter away half their time."—*To Swift, without date.*

I do not dislike a fellow, whose imagination runs away with him, and who has wit enough to be half mad: nor him, who atones for a scanty imagination by an ample fund of oddnesses and singularity. If good sense and real knowledge prevail a little too much in any character, I desire there may be at least some latent ridicule, which may be called forth upon occasion, and render the person a tolerable companion.—*To Swift, Sept.* 12, 1724.

I cannot agree to what you advance with the air of a maxim, that exile is the greatest punishment to men of virtue, because virtue consists in loving our country. Examine the nature of this love, from whence it arises, how it is nourished, what the bounds and measures of it are; and after that, you will discover, how far it is virtue, and where it becomes simplicity, prejudice, folly, and even enthusiasm. A virtuous man in exile may properly enough be styled unfortunate;

nate; but he cannot be called unhappy. You remember the reason which Brutus gave, "because wherever he goes, he carries his virtue with him."—*To Swift, Sept.* 12, 1724.

What is man? polished, civilized, learned man! A liberal education fits him for slavery; and the pains he has taken give him the noble pretension of dangling away life in an antichamber, or of employing real talents to serve those who have none: or, which is worse than all the rest, of making his reason and his knowledge serve all the purposes of other men's follies and vices.—*To Swift, no date.*

Prudence will make us desire fame, because it gives us many real and great advantages in all the affairs of life. Fame is the wise man's means: his ends are his own good, and the good of society. You poets and orators have inverted this order: you propose fame as the end; and good, or at least great, actions as the means. You go farther; you teach our self-love to anticipate the applause, which we suppose will be paid by posterity to our names; and with idle notions of immortality, you turn other heads beside your own: I am afraid this may have done some harm in the world.—*To Swift, Aug.* 30, 1729.

Fame is an object, which men pursue successfully by various and even contrary courses. Your doctrine leads them to look on this end as essential, and on the means as indifferent: so that Fabricius and Crassus, Cato and Cæsar, pressed forward to the same goal. After all, perhaps, it may

may appear, from a consideration of the depravity of mankind, that you could do no better, nor keep up virtue in the world, without calling this passion or this direction of self-love in to your aid. Tacitus has avowed this excuse for you, according to his manner, into a maxim, *Contemptu famæ contemni virtutes.* But now, whether we consider fame as a useful instrument in all the occurrences of private and publick life, or whether we consider it as the cause of that pleasure, which our self-love is so fond of: methinks our entrance into life, or to speak more properly, our youth, not our old age, is the season when we ought to desire it most, and therefore, when it is most becoming to desire it with ardour. If it is useful, it is to be desired most when we have or may hope to have a long scene of action open before us: toward our exit, this scene of action is, or should be, closed: and then methinks it is unbecoming to grow fonder of a thing, which we have no longer occasion for. If it is pleasant, the sooner we are in possession of fame, the longer we shall enjoy this pleasure; when it is acquired early in life, it may tickle us on till old age; but when it is acquired late, the sensation of pleasure will be more faint, and mingled with the regret of our not having tasted it sooner.—*Ibid.*

If we follow nature, and do not work up imagination against her plainest dictates, we shall of course grow every year more indifferent to life, and to the affairs and interests of a system, out of which we are soon to go. This is much better

than

than stupidity. The decay of passion strengthens philosophy; for passion may decay, and stupidity not succeed. Passions are the gales of life: let us not complain, that they do not blow a storm. What hurt does age do us, in subduing what we toil to subdue all our lives?—*To Swift, March* 29, 1736.

I have read, in the golden verses of Pythagoras, or in some other collection of wise apophthegms of the ancients, that a man of business may talk of philosophy, a man who has none may practise it. What do you think of this maxim? Is it exact? I have a strange distrust of maxims. We make as many observations as our time, our knowledge, and the other means we have, give us the opportunity of making on a physical matter: we find that they all correspond, and that one general proposition may be affirmed as the result of them. This we affirm, and in consequence this becomes a maxim among our followers, if we have any. Thus the king of Siam affirmed, that water is always in a fluid state: and I doubt not but the talapoins (do they not call them so?) held this maxim. Neither he, or they, had ever climbed the neighbouring mountains of Ava: their observations were confined to the burning climate they inhabited. It is much the same in moral maxims, founded in observations on the conduct of men; for there are other moral maxims of universal truth, as there are moral duties of eternal obligation. We see what the conduct is, and we guess what the motives are, of great numbers of men: but then we

we see often at too great a distance, as through a faulty medium; we guess with much uncertainty from a thousand reasons, concerning a thing as various, as changing, as inconsistent as the heart of man. And even when we see right, and guess right, we build our maxims on a small number of observations (for such they are comparatively, how numerous soever they may be, taken by themselves) which our own age and our own country chiefly have presented to us.

You and I have known one man in particular, who affected business he often hindered, and never did; who had the honour among some, and the blame among others, of bringing about great revolutions in his own country, and in the general affairs of Europe; and who was, at the same time, the idlest creature living; who was never more copious than in expressing, when that was the theme of the day, his indifference to power, and his contempt of what we call honours, such as titles, ribands, &c.; who should, to have been consistent, have had this indifference, and have felt this contempt, since he knew neither how to use power, nor how to wear honours, and yet who was jealous of one, and fond of the other, even to ridicule. This character seems singular enough; and yet I have known some resembling it very much in general, and many exactly like it in the strongest marks it bore.

Now let us suppose, that some Rochefoucault or other, some anthroponomical sage, should discover a multitude of similar instances, and not stumble

stumble upon any one repugnant: you and I should not, however, receive for a maxim, that he who affects business, never does it; nor this, that he who brings about great revolutions, is always idle; nor this, that he who expresses indifference to power, and contempt of honours, is jealous of one, and fond of the others.—*To Swift, June* 27, 1734.

A man in business, and a man who is out of it, may equally talk of philosophy; that is certain. The question is, whether the man in business may not practise it as well as the man out of business? I think he may, in this sense, as easily: but sure I am, he may, in this sense, as usefully. If we look into the world, one part of it I mean, we shall find, I believe, few philosophers in business or out of business. The greatest part of the men I have seen in business, perhaps all of them, have been so far from acting on philosophical principles, that is, on principles of reason and virtue, that they have not acted even on the highest principles of vice. I have not known a man of real ambition, a man who sacrificed all his passions, or made them all subservient to that one; but I have known many, whose vanity and whose avarice mimicked ambition. The greatest part of the men I have seen out of business have been so far from practising philosophy, that they have lived in the world arrant triflers; or, retiring from it, have fallen into stupid indolence, and deserved such an inscription as Seneca mentions, in one of his letters to Lucilius, to have been put over the door

of

of one Vattia: *Hic vitus est Vattia.* But, for all this, I think that a man in business may practise philosophy as austerely to himself, and more beneficially to mankind, than a man out of it. The stoicks were an affected, pedantical sect, but I have always approved that rule of the Portique, that a philosopher was not to exempt himself from the duties of society, neither in the community to which he particularly belonged, nor in the great community of mankind. Mencius and his master Confucius, were strange metaphysicians, but they were good moralists, and they divided their doctrines into three parts; the duties of a man, as an individual, as a member of a family, and as a member of a state. In short a man may be, many men have been, and some, I believe, are philosophers in business: he that can be so out of it, can be so in it. —*Ibid.*

His character will perhaps be yet more illustrated by the following letters, for which we are indebted to Mr. Coxe's Appendix; but how to estimate the sincerity of statesmen, how to reconcile what they say with what they mean, will perhaps yet remain a desideratum in history.

Lord Bolingbroke to Sir William Wyndham.

Dear Sir William, March the 18th, 1735.

I answer yours of the 4th, 6th, and 22d of February. If corruption will be the bane of our

constitution, and that the continuance of it must be so even the corrupt cannot doubt; and if nothing can put a stop to this gangrene, but a conjuncture wherein the crown shall have little to ask, and a minister who will scorn this odious and abominable expedient of government shall be in power, as you think, *desperandum est de republica*;—I shall carry the weight of this affliction to my grave, and nothing will in the least lighten the burden, unless a perfect indifference to all that can happen, if this be to happen, can lighten it; or the comfortable reflection that I did, in a low and perhaps no very effectual part, but the only part I could act, all that was in my power to prevent the ruin. I once thought, that there was another remedy to this fatal evil, a remedy which might constantly palliate, and, by redoubling the doses in a favourable crisis, radically cure the distemper. But perhaps I was mistaken; or perhaps there is not patience and perseverance enough for the one, nor vigour or perseverance enough for the other, in the minds of men. Both come to the same point. For it is as much a mistake to depend upon that which is true, but impracticable at a certain time, as to depend on that which is neither true, nor practicable at any time *.

* Had the noble writer well considered the justness of his own reflections, he would not have formed such visionary schemes of government as he laid down in his Patriot King, and other political works.—Coxe.

But no more of this. Since I can be no longer of use to my particular friends, and to my country, I must live to myself; and I thank the Author of human and all other nature, that I am able to do so with the utmost contentment. I can drudge away my life in business, when my judgment and my sentiment concur in approving it; or I can trifle away my time in pleasure, when opportunity and example seduce me, and no strong call summons me from it. But I can and I always could do, what I will express in Latin better than English would express it, *me mihi vindicare*. I am now at an age when this is to be done for the last time: two acts are over at least; and the farce, you know, consists but of three.

Upon this foundation I will speak to you about my private affairs; for though I have mentioned all the particulars, that occurred to me necessary to be mentioned at present in my letter to Mr. Corry, which you will see to be sure, yet there are some other more general and ruling considerations, that I must explain to you. If I could have retired from the world with quiet, decency, and some degree of dignity at home, I should have chosen it; but since that could not be, and since nothing shall ever call me out of retreat again, but the necessity of self-defence, or such public confusion in my own country as may set me on a level with every other man in acting for her, one of which I believe, and the other of which I hope will not happen, it is probable in the highest degree, that I shall never return to live among

among you. This, applied to my private affairs, decides, you see, for selling my estate at Dawley as soon as I can. I do not desire, you know, to sell it at any extravagant rate; but I would not willingly undersell it very much to one of those, who may wait to take advantage of the neceſſity they may guess I am in of selling; nor easily yield to the contrariety of my fortune, that may render it hard for me, when it would not be for any other man, to sell at a fair price. I will add two other considerations, that decide on the same side very strongly in my mind: they are these: a revenue fully sufficient, and secured without risque or trouble, is an article of vast importance in the life I propose to lead; and such a revenue I can have whenever Dawley is sold as I propose to sell it. A settlement of all my affairs, not only for my own life, but for those that will be concerned in them after my death, is another point on which my mind is very intent; and the more so, because I judge, without either fear or spleen, upon my word, that my life will not be long. Now, this settlement cannot be made either as definitively or as effectually as I desire, until Dawley be sold.

When I examine myself, and consider my affairs and circumstances in this light, you may be sure I am under the pangs of impatience till this transaction be finished; but upon the whole matter, thus I simplify my thoughts, and thus I resolve. If, by luck better than I expect, you can sell for me as I desired, sell without hesitation: if the

opportunity of doing it hangs off, let upon the hints given in my letter to Mr. Corry. If neither of these can be done this summer, I shall feel a reasonable uneasiness, and be exposed to future inconveniencies, that will disturb all the quiet of my life; for though I do not wish to live like Aristippus, I cannot live like Diogenes. In this case, there will remain but one thing for me to do, which I shall do, though very unwillingly, and that will be to go into England before the end of the summer, set Dawley and all I have there to sale, make the most I can of it, content myself with that, whatever it be, and return free from cares of all kinds to my foreign hermitage. This, my friend, is the sum total of my thoughts, and the result of all my reflections. Upon this foot act for me, and let me hear from you as frequently as you see occasion, or have the opportunity.

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Dean Swift had begun a history of the four last years of the Queen's reign. I saw it some years ago, and disliked it. Many mistakes were in it, and I thought it a party pamphlet, not a history. I spoke my mind freely to Pope, to whom you will do me a pleasure to talk about this work. I think I took the copy away, that it might not go into the world as it was; and if I did so, that copy remains among some papers, that I have laid by carefully and safely in England.

Lord

Lord Bolingbroke to Sir William Wyndham.

Dear Sir William, June the 9th, 1737.

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Since du Noquet is to send you this letter by no conveyance that is not extremely sure, I will speak openly to you upon one part of yours. It has been plain to me for some years, that nothing but the hand of fate could shake the men who domineer over you. I am afflicted at it, because the principles and methods of government will not be changed, nay, cannot by them; and because, if any thing can be demonstrated in politicks by reason, and be supported by the authority of example, it is this, that these principles and methods of government must impoverish the nation to a degree ruinous and insupportable, with consequences, some of which are easily foreseen, and others as certain, though not equally obvious. I am afflicted at it, because the long continuance of these principles and methods of government, which have been continued long already, must wear the true notions of the English constitution out of the heads, and the true spirit of it out of the hearts of men: and because it is evident, that the consequence of this must be, a little sooner or later, either falling into national confusion, the seeds of which, very thick sown, are not so hard to point out; or submitting tamely and silently to indirect, which is in many respects worse than direct tyranny, and which leads inevi-

tably to it. The word tyranny is not too strong; for whenever will prevails constantly and without control or account, the will of a prince or the will of a minister, whatever forms are preserved, tyranny is established. I am piqued at it, because this could never happen; nay, the progress toward it could never have been such as we have seen, and see; if there had not been industrious, active, impudent perseverance, for bold or resolute, are words too good, on one side, and negligent, uncertain, timid opposition on the other. Do not imagine, that to think in this manner is to presage, like a splenetick man, evils that will never happen; think rather, that he who is out of the fray, sees the progress of it in every part, and foresees, upon the whole, the event of it better than he who is in it can. How many measures have been pursued or neglected in my time, and almost in my time*, the consequences of which pursuit or neglect are felt severely at this hour; and yet these consequences, when they were foretold, passed among honest intelligent men, as contingencies too uncertain to be opposed to immediate expediency; or as the dreams of melancholy persons, or as the artful misrepresentations of the ill-affected.

You say, my friend, that the affair of the prince alarmed the minister purely because of the state of the king's health in that point of time. I believe so: but I believe likewise, that this affair would have alarmed, and have done more

* So in the original.

than

than alarm him, in whatever state the king's health had been, if it had been the first measure of a scheme of conduct wisely formed, and concerted among all those that stand in opposition to the present administration. If a scheme of conduct had been formed and concerted to follow this measure, in the case of losing as well as carrying the question, I incline to believe you would have carried it; for nothing gives success like hope, and nothing gives hope like the assurance of having a good second game to play. I applaud extremely the prudence and dignity, with which his royal highness conducted himself, as well as the firmness he has shown since; the marks of duty he gives to his parents, and the coldness of the good breeding he exercised towards their servants, and I suppose towards those of his own who voted against him. The rest of his behaviour, his taking dutifully what is given him, the assurances he gives that he will not treat for more, that he will not ask for more, is too finely spun for my gross sight; it will keep him where he is, you where you are, and Walpole where he is. It affords, indeed, an example of most polite moderation; but I do not imagine the persons he and you have to do with capable of being won by such amiable proceedings; and for the minister, he is not such a changeling as to think this circumstance unpleasant, or to disquiet himself about resentments, against which he has so much time and so many means to provide. I am apt to believe, that he would think the circumstance much

more unpleasant, and have more disquietude about future events, if the prince was at this time retired to Southampton house: for instance, if he lived there, with all the œconomy of a private nobleman, and was surrounded with friends that might adorn the court of a prince: if his language and his conduct expressed the utmost personal duty to his parents, and yet the freedom of a British subject. Those among you who imagine, that a contrary conduct carries terrour with it, and will produce overtures of reconciliation, are like Picherol, in Rabelais, who sauntered about at the city gate, and did nothing but inquire whether the storks, for they were to bring with them all kinds of good fortune, were coming; or like the bowing dean, who waits on foot in the dust or the dirt the arrival of his patron, who is to promote him to a bishoprick.

I could not help saying thus much to you in the freedom, the confidence, and the warmth of friendship, and therefore you will excuse it. Interest, personal interest I mean, I have none in any of these affairs; for, however they turn, my situation will be the same; and, I dare say, you do me the justice to be persuaded, that, if it was in my power to alter it, I would not, after all that has passed, neither by the means of my enemies nor of my friends. I look often back on the parts I have acted, and on the events of my life: in the former I discern many mistakes, but no iniquity; no one step was not directed originally, or brought immediately to the true interest of

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my country. This consciousness takes away all regret as to the events of my life, since the worst of them have been owing to things that I should do again upon the whole, if I was again in the same circumstances, though not quite in the same manner in some cases. If I live, I will continue a year or two more as I am, perhaps longer, for other persons' sake, not for my own. But if my lord St. John lives longer, and Dawley is not soon sold pretty well, I shall have a just reason for doing what I desire to do, that is, for retiring absolutely from the world, and into a sort of life, where, free from care of all kins, I shall live by myself, and to myself, and be lost to mankind before I cease to be one of their number. * * * * *

Lord Bolingbroke to Sir William Wyndham.

October the 13th, 1737.

I writ to you very lately, dear sir William, and having heard from Calais, that my letter was sent safely into England, I suppose it come safely by this time to your hands. This shall be forwarded with more precaution still; for I shall not forbear saying, in answer to yours of the 13th of the last month, things very unfit for the inspection of clerks of the post-office. Though I am informed very irregularly, and very imperfectly of what passes in the island of Great Britain, yet, by what I have heard, it seemed plain to me, that an entire rupture between the father

and

and the son has been long unavoidable. I have therefore waited to see what the immediate occasion or pretence of this rupture would be; for I always believed the counsellors of his royal highness would think it of great importance to render this not only plausible, but popular.

I thought, that such an occasion or pretence might have been founded on the proceedings of last winter: but I saw things at a distance, and they who saw them nearer, judged otherwise. The settlement on the princess was not then made; this and other reasons might concur to make them judge and act as they did at that time. But I am at a loss to find the plausibility or the popularity of the present occasion of rupture. He hurries his wife from court when she is on the point of being delivered of her first child. His father swells, struts, and storms. He confesses his rashness, and asks pardon in terms of one who owns himself in the wrong. Beside that all this appears to me boyish, it is purely domestick; and there is nothing, as far as I can discern, to interest the publick in the cause of his royal highness. But notwithstanding this, extreme severity on the other side, and the prejudices of mankind against those who exercise this severity, may have, perhaps, that effect. I think truly they will have it, if the prince shows, upon this occasion, firmness in his character, and decency in his behaviour; one without any mixture of humour, or air of obstinacy; the other without any thing low, or, if I may say so, unprincely.

The

The resolution he has taken to pay his debts, and to live like a man of quality who has a good estate, deserves great commendation; there is honour, sense, and dignity in it. He may build, on this foundation, great reputation; and great reputation is great power, especially in one of his rank. If it was not so, my friend, it would scarcely be worth our esteem; since popular fame is strictly and truly, what a man weak enough to be fond of it, even for it's own sake, called it, *fama consensu stultorum improborumque excitata.*

As little as I concern myself at present, and shall do the rest of my life, in these affairs, and in their consequences, I could not help saying thus much, in answer to the account you give me of the scene that passed while you were at London; and all I shall add is this: it gave you inwardly, I suppose, much the same emotion as a scene of Tom Thumb would have done. But you are too wise not to know, that they who are on the stage must keep the countenance their parts require in a tragi-comical farce, while they who are in the pit may laugh their fill. "*Nous mourions de rire, si nous ne mourions pas de faim,*" was the burden of a French song during the great distress of this country in the last war that Lewis the Fourteenth waged.

It occurs often to me, when I think of the state of our own country, of the characters of persons, and of the conduct of affairs, it is impossible to have any concern for Britain, and not to lament the near approach of general beggary and

and slavery that threaten her; for I think the latter must and will go hand in hand with the former. And though I have as little of the spirit of party* about me as any man living, which you know to be true; yet I cannot forbear saying, that these are the fruits of those principles of foreign and domestick policy, that a number of men who called themselves Whigs, and who lived on the credit of that name, and on the folly and obstinacy of those who called themselves by another, began to plant almost half a century ago, and have continued to plant and to propagate ever since. The progress of both was covered long from publick sight by a specious veil that dazzled the vulgar: but the progress has been so gross, and the veil has been worn so thin, of late years, that he must be stark blind, who has not seen it. I fear it is seen; and if it was not, there would be room to hope, though effectual remedies were yet unattempted; if it is, all hope seems to be cut on. The patient who knows his distemper, and chooses rather to bear it than to go through the remedy, is incurable.

You say, that the monopoly of money in a few hands discloses itself manifestly. Is not power engrossed in a few hands as well as wealth? Things are brought to this pass. While you have weak princes on the throne, some cabal or other will draw the whole wealth of the nation, and the

* How little did the noble writer know himself and his own disposition, if he really believed what he here says!—Coxe.

whole

whole power of the state, to itself. Whenever you have an able prince there, he will soon find means of being, directly or indirectly, the proprietor of both. * * * * *

Lord Bolingbroke to Sir William Wyndham.

February 3, 1738.

Yours of the 28th and 31st of December is come safely to my hands, as I hope that this will to yours. I thank you very much for the clear state you represent to me of things that must affect the friends I love, and the country I love, to a great degree, and which concern me therefore in this respect, though they do so in no other. I cannot wonder, that the same man, who has so often, nay so constantly, sacrificed the national interest to his avarice, his ambition, and his fears, should sacrifice to his passions the peace of his master's family, and take that opportunity to make this master declare a proscription against all those who oppose his minister; for those general words in the message include you all, and mean no less. But I am surprised he should so directly, and so personally, push things to extremity against one, who may be his master some time or other. Since he has done so, he opens a scene that may be tragical to him, if it is well acted; and surely it may be well acted, when the principal actor is so well disposed. The French have a proverb, which is true in private life, *Que la bonne compagnie chasse la mauvaise.* Inverted it would be true likewise, *Que la mauvaise chasse la bonne:* but,

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in this case, it should seem, the good may have the advantage if they please, since the others have only his habit for them, and since his reflection is against them, and makes him ashamed of them. A multitude of prompters will confound the actor, and destroy all consistency of behaviour and conduct; but is it impossible then to prompt by concert, and, since his confidence is well placed, to prevail on him to listen to no other prompting? The very aggravation of his little defects by some people at this time should be the strongest proof imaginable to him of the necessity of correcting them. In short when I consider what use I have seen and see actually made of very uncouth characters, I am not without hopes, that a good use may be made of this. When I speak of prompting by concert, I do not mean a concert so extended as must be formed in some cases; I mean a concert of a few intimately united with those in whom his greatest confidence is placed. Such a concert, conducting his conduct with wisdom, industry, firmness, and perseverance, would make his cause as powerful as you wish it, and still more popular, as you think it cannot fail of being.

I am of your mind, that the Queen's death must make a great alteration in the inward state of things at court; but this will not decide in favour of the publick; nor indeed any thing less than the power of developing to the publick the mystery of one of the weakest and wickedest administrations that ever was. Such a concert, with such a person

a person to figure at the head of it, might bring this about. I know what will be objected; the different characters and views of the men who must concur in bringing this about, and the supposed impossibility of prevailing in these days against a man who has the purse in his hands. I saw much of the first when I was among you; and I lamented the want of that which you now have, a centre of union, a superior authority among yourselves, under whose influence men of different characters and different views will be brought to draw better together, and your measures being more systematical, your efforts will be far stronger, I hope irresistible. The other objection I heard every day made, or insinuated, during the latter part of the time I was in Britain; and I must suppose it was urged as a reason for submitting to the little tyrant who has domineered so long over you; because nothing can be more absurd in the mouth of men who do not submit, but continue to act against him. For if it is impossible to stem the tide of corruption, and prevail against the man who holds the purse; it is absurd to make the attempt, and more absurd to persist in it. But I saw then, or thought I saw, that it was not his own strength, but the purse alone that supported him; and I hope you will see this verified by his fall.

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I return to mention a thing I forgot above. I love the chancellor much, and I should therefore be

be very sorry to see him become the crutch of a battered minister. If he has engaged to a certain degree with the Pelhams, and if the duke of Newcastle's breach with Walpole is irreconcilable, why should not these circumstances be improved? Why should not you cultivate such a coalition, being in friendship with one lately, and having old habitudes with the other? Adieu, my friend, I am to you, and to all that belong to you, as sincerely devoted as the heart of man can make him.

Lord Bolingbroke to Sir William Wyndham.

(July the 23d, 1739.) I have settled myself in the same habitation, after more than two months of silly and teasing negotiation, and after apprehending more than once, that I should have no settlement at all. My lease is for the life of a widow, or the term of her widowhood. She will not marry, I think, because she would lose by it the best part of a small revenue; and though she be younger than I am, she is old enough not to be courted for her beauty. The tranquillity you wish me, my dear sir William, I think I shall have; my mind is tempered for it. Fewer things give me regret, fewer fear; and the objects that could principally affect me with trouble are at a distance: I see them imperfectly, I hear them faintly.

I have not been, nor am, in the way of political information; but, as far as I know, there is no reason to alter the opinion I was of in

England concerning the part this government would act, if the obstinacy of Spain drove things to a rupture; and you took up arms purely to repel usurpation, injuries, and insults, and to assert a plain and incontestable right, which the French claim as well as you, to a free and independent navigation. It is said, that your ministers ask to negotiate with Spain, under the cardinal's mediation *, and that he accepts it. I dare to say he would not suffer this right on the part of France to be made a matter of treaty. But if you will make it such on your part, it is not a mediator's duty to hinder you. The great augmentation of your land forces makes no impression: people wonder what you mean. He that should say, you have an invasion to fear, would be laughed at almost as much as he that should say, you meant to chase *guarda costas* with horse, foot, and dragoons. What then do your government mean? I believe you or I could answer the question better than any foreign politician.

The account you gave me in yours of a conversation with our friend P. did not surprise me; it only renewed an affliction I have often felt on the same account; for, though I love the man, though I look on myself to be perfectly indifferent to him, the step † he was so fond of, and grew tired of so

* This assertion was ungrounded; France offered her mediation, but England rejected it.

† The secession

soon, is the only one that you could take of any meaning or tendency; if it is supported decently but strongly, soberly but resolutely, it must have a good effect. If it is not supported so, the case will be as bad, with a little more dishonour to particular men, as if it had not been taken. In one case, and in the other, the plain and necessary consequence would have been, or is, to leave the honour, interest, and constitution of their country at the mercy of an avowed faction, with the most profligate man in the nation at the head of it. Such a remonstrance as he mentioned would be, no doubt, a proper, one of the properest measures, that could be taken to justify and support the secession. But what then does he mean by saying, it would ruin the Whig party? The Whig faction it might break; and what has he, and you, and every honest man, meant by the opposition you have carried on, and by your coalition, but to break the Whig and Tory faction both? The whole body of the Whigs must be reunited, he says; and this great measure of the city remonstrance must be executed by the Tories alone. I forbear any remarks on a discourse as wild as a dream. Surely, a man of his parts must be fascinated, as you say, to talk in such a style. I hear he has talked of something he expects from me; but I have desired he may be told, that I will write nothing. He thought my very name and presence in England did hurt. What hurt then would the bare suspicion do, that a paper, designed to explain and justify the secession, and

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to point out the true end of it, came from me? Since you are all separated, I am willing to hope, that it is to hold separately the same language, and to pursue the same measures at once in different places; and that your separation will continue no longer than is necessary for this purpose. Any thing of the kind you expect will have it's effect, perhaps, more strongly after the minds of men are so prepared; and I need say nothing of it to you here, because you will hear of it another way; and I think no one but you should hear of it any way, till it appears without any possible notices of the quarter from whence it comes.

I own to you, that this fresh mark of uniformity of sentiment and steadiness of conduct, in a certain person *, gives me great pleasure, and the more because the attack was made by surprise: keep him right for his sake, for your own, and for your country's sake. In all events the weight of that person must be greater every day, if he confirms, in the opinion of mankind, his character of steadiness and truth. Adieu, dear sir, take this to be the speech of a departed friend, who writes to you from another world, who had some experience of the world, and who takes no farther interest in it, beside that of a concern for his living friends.

Of all the causes of your present publick misfortunes, which are easy to be traced, a principal one is this: The Whigs have always looked on the protestant succession, and the Tories on the

* The prince of Wales.

restoration of the Stewarts, as sure means to throw the whole power of the government into the hands of one or the other of them, and to keep it there. I am confident the latter would have found themselves deceived: the former were encouraged and confirmed by the weak conduct of my lord Oxford; by the characters of the late and present king, different indeed, but suited to their purpose; and by the absurd behaviour of the Tories, which no experience can cure. Thus party has become faction, distinguished no longer by principle, whatever may be represented, but by personal attachments *. Had great men been at the head of the ruling faction, your liberties had been lost without a chance to save them. Their characters would have imposed, and a successful administration might have hindered men from seeing the invasions made on liberty. Walpole's character could impose on no man. All the power and all the wealth of Britain has not been able to deck him out with a little dignity, nor to procure him common respect. A narrow capacity, good as far as it extends, but confined to the lowest and worst arts, to the tricks of domestick government, has rendered his administration one of the wickedest and weakest, the most hateful and the most contemptible, that our nation ever saw; and thus many chances to redeem yourselves from his

* These assertions are a full and ample refutation of his much laboured Treatise on the State of Parties at the accession of George the First, and fully demonstrate the absurdity of any attempt to reconcile the two leading parties.—Coxe.

tyranny,

tyranny, and to restore good government, have been created: the last, that which I hope still subsists, is the fairest that any infatuated minister could give against himself. His maleadministration appeared so flagrant, that faction could not save him without avowing faction. You pulled off the mask; at least you showed mankind the turpitude of this proceeding, and you appealed to the nation; for your secession is such an appeal, or it is the most pompous nothing I ever saw or heard of. To go back from this, would be to admit what you have appealed against. For your own sakes, and for the sake of your country, you must go forward. You may do so by the strongest and most irreproachable measures; you may bring the dispute to fix on this single point, the personal interest of Walpole, in the eyes of the whole kingdom. If you persist, it must rest there at last, and there is not a man of spirit left in Britain, if it can rest there long.

Lord Bolingbroke to Sir William Wyndham.

November the first, 1739.

Geraldino having no more a share in dispatching the couriers between London and Calais, I conclude du Nocquet will be able to convey my letters safely by them, or by the sloops, and that I may venture to write the more freely, as well as more frequently, to you, my dear friend. You heard from me some time ago, and you have doubtless the letter I writ, and the papers I sent to that valuable, or rather invaluable, young man,

Polwarth. A great deal of what is there contained will be out of date, if it be true that your resolution is taken of returning to the house, as I hear from my neighbourhood that it is. Concerning this resolution I presume not to decide; all I can say is, that the tranquillity of the summer prepared me to expect it. I see some concomitant resolutions, that may have been taken at the same time, which, if they go together, and are executed alike, may support the honour of the secession, and promote a crisis, necessary, in my opinion, and that I believe of every thinking man, to save your country from ruin of every kind, from absolute beggary *, and the most abject servitude.

There are other things contained in those papers, which will not be out of date, even if this resolution be taken. You must mate the insolence, and stop, at least, if you cannot punish, the treachery of Walpole. I scruple not to use the word treachery, for he is a changeling, if he is not a traitor to Britain. If you cannot do one of these, you are undone. I do not mean as a party; that consideration is too low for such conjuncture, but as a nation. I do not see your state so near as you do, but have the mortification to hear every man I see express contempt for a country they have been used to respect, and even to fear.

* Strange contradiction! He accuses Walpole of having brought the nation to *absolute beggary*, and yet he abuses him for his opposition to a war, which increased more than tenfold the national debt.—Coxe.

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I have been asked, many times within this month, how it came to pass, that we suffered ourselves to be insulted and pirated upon so many years together by the Spaniards: and to be bantered all the while by the trifling clauses in treaties, made by ministers who did not dare at that time to make a single reprisal. We took the Fleuron; France immediately made reprisals very justly, and has brought our court to redeem their folly with their money; for this capture costs you, I believe, 5000l. France and you are not at war for this. France has disputes frequently with Spain, particularly about territory and encroachments in the island of St. Domingo. Has France borne the least insult, the least invasion, the least menace from the Spaniards, without opposition or reprisal? Not one; and yet the amity between the two crowns subsists so well, that your ministers seem afraid of it. From these instances, and others, men argue, unanswerably, that how little soever Walpole may think it for his interest to engage in a war, he might have reconciled, some years ago, his interest and that of his country, if he had not been resolved not only to postpone the latter to the former, but to give it up.

I have been asked, what is meant by the great armaments made in Britain, which they say are absurd, whether the ministers mean a war or not? a war with Spain, that is. For if the meaning be to give the law to the people of Great Britain, not to the Spaniards, augmentations of land forces are necessary to do it effectually, and the

eclat of a great fleet to cover the design. In short, I should afflict and tire you, if I repeated the twentieth part of what I have heard on this subject. I will conclude, therefore, this head by telling you what I take to be a great truth, that there is not a man of sense, who does not think you betrayed by a minister, who is, on what motives he best knows, in a concert with your adverse party, and who does not rather despise than pity you for bearing it.

Your parliament being to meet in about three weeks, I conclude this letter will find you returned to London, where I wish you health and success: half this wish will be enough for me; my private affairs are as much broken as they can be, and I neither take nor will take any share in publick affairs. What have I then to do with success? but I have still something to do with health, and even of that I have been often deprived of late. Almost all the warm sentiments of the heart are dead in me except that of friendship; and if I take any concern for what passes in the world, it is on the account of my friends, whom I think friends to their country, and not on my own. Adieu, dear Wyndham, I embrace you and yours with a heart, that will be devoted to you as long as it beats.

Lord Bolingbroke to Sir William Wyndham.

(November the 18th, 1739.) Yours of the 23d of September O. S. is come safe to my hands. The common style and matter of epistolary correspondence

respondence would want an apology indeed, if it was employed between you and me: our confidence in each other's friendship needs none of what the French call *petits devoirs* to support it; and I would no more write to you about trifles, than I would write seriously to a coquette or a *petit maître.* I felt much concern in reading your letter; if the spirit of the gentlemen is subdued, and they are grown indifferent about the preservation of the British constitution, *conclamatum est.* A people cannot be saved against their will; and Walpole, or your kinsman, may use them like the slaves they are, and deserve to be. It gives me some pleasure, amidst all my real grief, to think that the man of that country whom I love the best has done his utmost to save it. This gives me pleasure; and believe me, dear sir William, it will give you a pleasure to your latest hour, which they who conspire to ruin their country never knew. I see a glimpse of light, through all this darkness, in the hope you have, that you shall keep one person steady to the principles of his and your late conduct. If you cannot save your country, do not drop your protest against the men and the measures that ruin it.

I say nothing to you about foreign affairs; what I could say about them relatively to Britain, I have said in former letters. Never nation was so bantered, so imposed upon, and so lied, as yours. They who lied so impudently, when the Spanish treaty of Vienna was made, in order to have a

pretence

pretence for arming at home, and keeping foreign troops in pay, may lie again with the same view, and the same success; though I think it impossible they shall procure any better informations than that you mention, to colour what they advance. Nothing can be, I dare say, more foreign to the present politicks of all the councils of Europe, except those of his holiness, or perhaps the queen of Spain, than the cause of the Pretender; and yet this trite expedient may be again employed. Dan. Pulteney used to say, that the Pretender would never subdue us, but his name would.

I thank you for sending me the account wherein I am mentioned for a correspondence with persons I never heard of before. I have desired a friend, who is going to Paris, to take such notice of it as it deserves to my lord Waldegrave; and to add, that though he and I know how much these idle reports of invasions are to be despised, yet as we have seen them politically employed for many purposes, and may see them so again, I promise his lordship that if my name be mingled in any of them, I will instantly repair to Paris to receive his orders, as little as I care to leave my retreat, and go from thence to London, as fast as post-horses can carry me to Paris, and winds waft me from thence. You will do me a favour, my friend, to speak in the same style, if an occasion that deserves it offers.

My health has tottered a good deal since I came last into this country, but begins, I think, to strengthen, though we be in the decline of the year,

year, and though the season be more remarkable for epidemical distempers than any that has been known.

You are now to be sure in town, and you see what you have to expect for the publick: little good, I fear; but much honour to yourself, and to those gentlemen who backed you in the measure you took last session, and who will pursue with you the ends of it. The eyes of mankind are upon you. Let me hear from you, at least of you. As retired as I am, and as indifferent as I am grown, I look abroad with curiosity and impatience to learn what becomes of the wealth, honour, and liberty of a country I must always love, in this decisive moment. We are told here, that lord Harrington is to be general of the marines, and Horace secretary of state; and that the latter and sir John Norris are to be made peers. These promotions, the hundred-gun ships you put into commission, and the horse and dragoons you raise, may well frighten Spain. Adieu. I am most faithfully and entirely yours; my kindest wishes and best respects attend all yours.

1740.

Lord Bolingbroke to Sir William Wyndham.

(New-year's day, 1740.) I cannot begin the year better than by writing to you, and therefore will send this letter to take its chance for a passage at Calais, without waiting for another conveyance.

veyance. I make no reflections on the contents of your letter of the 11th of November, because I can make none but what you make yourself in it. You are in a melancholy scene: but I am sure you experience now that advantage, which a virtuous conduct alone can procure. When our conduct has not been such, if we fail of success, we fail of all: but when it has been such, we are sure to gain something—more ease. Inward contentment inhances publick joy. In the other, it makes some amends for the want of it. What shall I say further to you, my friend? When men are so far from acting on generous, noble, and wise principles, that they avow the most ungenerous and the meanest, and pride themselves in the most foolish, they neither can be served, nor deserve to be so: and the greatest sacrifice a good man can make to the publick is, for the sake of the publick, not to break with them.

The two young men you name have not only the principles but the flame of publick virtue, and it is for that I admire and love them. When these principles are in the head alone, they are notions, principles from which to reason, and they serve oftener to judge of the conduct of others, than to influence our own. But when they are in the heart too, they become sentiments, principles of action: and they unite the powers of the whole man in pursuit of every laudable purpose. I write to the lord, make my best compliments to the other. May you find more to walk steadily with you and them in those paths, which wisdom,

not

not cunning, points out; for as they direct to different means, they direct to different ends. I have seldom known a cunning man an honest man, and as seldom a wise man a knave. I am persuaded, that our cunning men will be the bubbles of their cunning, and that the measure, so full of good purposes as they pretend, will serve only to unmask them of their patriotism, and show the true visage of faction that lies behind it. But be this as it will, if the constitution of Britain can be saved, and the weak and wicked administration altered, you are just in the way to bring this about, on the principles laid down, and according to the solemn engagements taken twelve or fourteen years ago. If one must perish, and the other subsist, no matter under whose name or direction. May you, and those who concur with you, have the virtue of which I doubt not, and then you will have the honour to be the last of Britons. I wish for you as I wish for myself. I judge for you and of you, as I judge for myself and of myself, how little soever the unthinking, trifling part of mankind may discern it.

The British constitution of government is at a great crisis, which must turn either to life or death. The disease cannot be long borne. God knows whether the remedies can. When I recall to my mind the several causes, and the gradual progress of their effects, which have brought us into this state, I am ready to apply to our times what Livy said of his, *Ad hæc tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra, nec remedia pati possumus, perventum est.*

est. On this supposition I think myself happy to be what I am, a stranger in my own country, a sojourner in a foreign land. You ought to think yourself still happier, not because you have escaped a great part of the losses I have sustained, and the troubles I have gone through; but because you are still in a condition to speak and act in defence of the noblest cause a virtuous man can undertake. Adieu, my friend. May the providence of God protect and favour you, and such as you; and I doubt not but this will be, if in truth the Supreme Being does govern the moral world by the interposition of particular providences!

Lord Bolingbroke to Sir William Wyndham.

(January 25, 1740.) Since I writ to you not very long ago, your letter of the 25th November and 4th December came to my hands. My dear sir William, I inclined to think many years ago, and have been confirmed in the opinion for some time, that the great end and visible progress, which has been made towards the destruction of the British constitution, and the extinction of the spirit of it, has not been owing so much to the shifts of a minister in distress, or in fear of being so, as it has been to a formed design and established system. The men in power have pursued it, and many of those out of power have only waited the opportunity of pursuing it. This is infamous, but it is not strange; there is no need

of great acuteness to discover, that no ministers can govern long in Britain, unless they govern well, while the constitution maintains any degree of purity and vigour: nor that it is much more easy, as well as profitable, to govern ill than well. From hence the system, which has been almost avowed in words, and which has been so very emphatically in actions, whose declarations are many times as explicit, and always more sure, than those that are contained in words. That such a system should be formed or adopted by faction, nay by contrary factions, I am not surprised; but what surprises me is, that any man, or faction of men in power, should wantonly sacrifice the honour and interest of their country to those of another, in a case where they can reap no conceivable private advantage by it, and where they might, by a contrary conduct, have confirmed themselves in power, and acquired some degree of publick approbation, without the least discomposure of their original scheme.

I agree, that if any private job was to be done, or connived at, against the national interest, and in favour of some other to which the prince on the throne might be supposed affectionate, sir Robert would not fail to make his court. This we have seen. But how can it be supposed in the present case, that the prince on the throne should think it his interest to favour Spain at the expense of Great Britain, unless sir Robert has persuaded him that it is so? But then the question returns, why has he persuaded him? He may think that

Philip II.

Philip II. is on the throne of Spain; that an invincible armada will invade his kingdom; that the Pretender is actually in it; and that a formidable party, composed of all sir Robert's enemies, is ready to take arms against the establishment. But his minister knows, I believe, that Philip V. is on the throne of Spain; he must have heard something, even from Wager, of the weakness of the maritime forces of Spain; his brother may have informed him, that the Pretender is at Rome; and as he is well enough apprised of the state of things at home, he must know, that the jacobite party in Britain is an unorganized lump of inert matter, without a principle of life or action in it; capable of mobility, perhaps, but more capable of divisibility, and utterly void of all power of spontaneous motion.

I said that Walpole might, by a contrary conduct, have confirmed his authority, and have acquired some degree of publick approbation. I think I said right; for though it has been said and thought, and thought perhaps by himself, that authority would be more divided in case of a war, and the event of a war might influence the state of things at home to his prejudice, yet it is evident he had nothing of this kind to fear. After negotiating his country into a necessity of making war, and then endeavouring to prevent it by the most scandalous, and in him the most impudent treaty that ever was made, he is continued, with as much authority as ever, at the head of the administration of the government, and the direction

of

of this very war is by consequence left to him. What then is it that ties up his hands? Spain may be hurt, and cruelly hurt, many ways: why is not one stroke given, no nor aimed to be given? Why does he not endeavour to shut those mouths by his efforts in a war, that were opened against him by his negotiations? I could ask many questions of this kind, but I protest I could answer none of them, unless I supposed him a pensioner of Spain, or a silly, as well as a proud and obstinate creature; so silly as not to see his advantage, which every man, even in this country, sees for him; so proud and obstinate, that he determines, after having escaped vengeance for perverting the intentions of parliament by his negotiations in consequence of them, to deserve it still more by disappointing the hopes of the nation by a languid war.

And is this, my dear friend, the man in favour of whom the spirit of inquiry ought to *subside*, when he gives greater occasion for it by his manner of beginning the war, than he did even by that of concluding the negotiations, if in truth he has concluded them? Is this the man, the machine of whose power *no one is likely to have reputation enough to shake?* Is this the awful man, against whom little intrigues, warily carried on, must be alone employed? Is this the man, the hero, whom the king of terrours alone can subdue? If this man be so great, how little must others be! A European dwarf may appear a giant, but it must be at Lilliput.

The papers you mention may expose again to publick view the turpitude of your minister; and the more that is shown, the more will the turpitude of those who will, and need not, bear him, be shown too. You are, however, in the right, to publish the part you and P. design to publish; and I shall be obliged to you, if you please to direct that it may be sent me. Make my best and kindest compliments to P. I rejoice in his fame, and I applaud your intimacy with him. Believe me, it is no small service to the commonwealth, to fan such fires as his. He is in the right to profit of your experience and judgment; and you are in the right to profit of his activity and vigour. Every age has something to lend to another. It is no small satisfaction to me to hear, that your fit of the gout is over; as much concern as I have for you personally, and no man has or can have more, even this concern increases as the want the publick has of your assistance increases daily. I thank you for making my compliments to the gentlemen you mention, and on the occasion you refer to. On any other occasion, I believe, I have very few compliments to make in the country where you are. No matter for that. My affection for the British nation and government is founded on principles, that the injustice, the ingratitude, and treachery of particular men cannot shake; and I have often had the pleasure, such as it is, of observing some persons, while they imagined that they hid their game from me, and made use of me, against my intention, to serve their particular

particular ends, who in truth hid nothing from me, and of whom I made some use, more in several cases than they intended, to serve the general and national end. Adieu, my friend.

III. ANECDOTES OF HIS PRIVATE LIFE, AND CONNEXIONS.

DR. GOLDSMITH, and the editors of the Biographia Britannica, have fallen into an errour respecting the birth of lord Bolingbroke. They fix his age at 79, and consequently reckon that he was born in 1672. Mr. Lysons, however, has presented the readers of his "Environs of London" with an extract from the registers of Battersea parish, by which it appears, that he was baptized October 10, 1678. This seems to coincide with what Swift says of him, in a letter dated 1710: "I am thinking what a veneration we used to have for sir William Temple, because he might have been secretary of state at fifty; and here is a young fellow hardly thirty in that employment." After the many instances we have had of late years of the precocity of statesmen, Swift's remark will appear a singular curiosity.

We are also indebted to Mr. Lysons' entertaining volumes for the following notices of lord Bolingbroke's father. "In 1684, being then Mr. Henry St. John, he was tried for the murder of sir William Estcourt, bart., and was convicted.

Bishop Burnet, speaking, no doubt, of this affair, tells the story thus:—That a young gentleman of a noble family, in the year 1684, being at supper with a large party, a sudden quarrel arose between him and another gentleman; very warm words passed, and swords were drawn; three persons were engaged in the rencounter, one of whom was killed on the spot, the other two were indicted for murder: it appeared uncertain by which the fatal wound was given, nor did the proof against either amount to more than manslaughter, yet the gentleman abovementioned, being one of the two, was advised to confess the indictment, and to let sentence pass for murder. He was threatened with the utmost rigour of the law, if he neglected to follow this advice; if he complied, he was promised a pardon. He thought it prudent to comply, and was convicted accordingly; but, to his cost, found that his pardon was to be purchased at the high rate of 16,000l.; one half of which the king converted to his own use, and bestowed the remainder upon two ladies, who were in great favour. This is bishop Burnet's account. It appears, however, that after the conviction a doubt arose, whether the king could pardon him. The matter was much debated, and bishop Barlow wrote one of his cases of conscience upon the subject: he determines the point in the affirmative. It is said, that, to obviate all doubts, the king granted him only a reprieve; in confirmation of this, no pardon appears to have been enrolled: the

the reprieve was for a long term of years, which the extreme old age which he attained, rendered it probable that he would survive. In 1716, he was created baron St. John of Battersea, and viscount St. John, and died in 1742, on the verge of ninety."

Mr. Lysons likewise informs us, that among the records at the Rolls Chapel is a restitution of the estates of Mr. Henry St. John, which were forfeited to the crown by his feloniously killing and murdering sir William Estcourt, bart. Pat. 36 Ch. II.; and it was for this restitution, probably, that the sum mentioned by bishop Burnet was paid. Burnet's reflections on this strange abuse of justice are very pertinent. Of Bolingbroke's father, Swift says, in the letter above quoted, "He is a man of pleasure, that walks the Mall, and frequents St. James's coffee-house, and the chocolate houses."

To what Dr. Goldsmith has advanced of lord Bolingbroke's education much cannot now be added; but the view he takes of some points is not very just. The first director of Bolingbroke's studies was Daniel Burgess, whom his biographer describes "as a fanatic of a very peculiar kind, being at once possessed of zeal and humour, and as well known for the archness of his conceits as the furious obstinacy of his principles." This is scarcely a fair character of Burgess; and it may be worth while to look a little closer to the merits of a man, who, by whatever accident or design, became the domestick tutor of so eminent a cha-

racter as lord Bolingbroke. The fact is, that he had been employed for many years as private teacher to the sons of the nobility and gentry, first in England and afterwards in Ireland, whither he went in 1667, at the particular solicitation of the earl of Orrery, lord president of Munster. Many of his expressions indicate humour, which in every shape is undoubtedly unfit for the pulpit. In private society, it appears that, to all the strictness of the puritan he joined a cheerful and facetious interchange of sentiments, which marked him as the prey of Swift, Steele, and the other wits of the times. But, as he was so frequently employed in the education of young persons of rank, he must have been more highly respected, than these wits would have us believe. When his meeting in New Court, Carey-street, and the furniture, was burnt by Sacheverell's mob, it was repaired at the expense of government. In 1702, his only son was made solicitor of the commission of prizes; and in 1714, about a year after his father's death, we find him residing at Hanover, as secretary and reader to the princess Sophia. Is it improbable, that he owed these personal favours to his old pupil?

Biographers are sometimes fond of tracing common events to extraordinary causes. Goldsmith seems desirous to impute Bolingbroke's infidelity to the instructions of Daniel Burgess, and quotes his lordship's authority for his "being obliged, when a boy, to read over the commentaries of Dr. Manton, whose pride it was to have

made a hundred and nineteen sermons on the hundred and nineteenth psalm." Nothing can be more dangerous or more absurd, than to impute vice or infidelity to an education, the natural tendency of which is to prevent both; nor has his lordship himself penned a sentiment more impious. From Burgess or Manton he could have imbibed only a higher reverence for religion, than was to be expected from a lively youth: and as to the disgust he felt, and to which his biographer seems inclined to trace his infidelity, it is probable, that a boy would not have entertained much less dislike to a voluminous history, if obliged to read it when he wished to be idle. He may perhaps, have learnt from his tutor the principles of Whiggism; but his quick transition to those of Toryism or Jacobitism, which he retained all his life, makes even that doubtful.

When at Eton, he had for his companion and rival sir Robert Walpole. "The parts of Mr. St. John, says Mr. Coxe, were more lively and brilliant, those of Walpole more steady and solid. Walpole was industrious and diligent, because his talents required application; St. John was negligent, because his quickness of apprehension rendered less labour necessary." These characteristicks prevailed in both throughout life.

As to Bolingbroke's marriage, Dr. Goldsmith's information is very imperfect, from want of a due regard to dates. He married his first wife in 1700, when he was but twenty-two years of age, and, it may be supposed, hardly

weaned from the licentious follies, which had disgraced his youth. Dr. Goldsmith says, that the young couple "were far from living happily together. After cohabiting for *some time* together, they parted by mutual consent, *both equally* displeased, he complaining of the obstinacy of her temper, she of the shamelessness of his infidelities." He likewise informs us, that "he never much agreed with the lady he first married, and after a *short* cohabitation, they separated and lived ever after asunder." He adds, "she did not long survive his *first disgrace*."

In these accounts, we are put upon conjectures as to the meaning of *some time*, and *short* cohabitation, which, if taken in the popular sense, as meaning less than *years*, or even *months*, will not coincide with the information, however scanty, upon which we can more certainly depend. Whatever the obstinacy of lady Bolingbroke's temper may have been, or however resolute her resentment of his infidelities, we have reason to think, that the parties, although living asunder for some time, must have been reconciled so far as to admit forgiveness, and even the return of affection. In 1716, two years after Bolingbroke's *first disgrace*, we find his lady corresponding familiarly with Swift, to whose acquaintance she was probably introduced by her husband, and using this remarkable expression, "As to my temper, if it is possible, I am more insipid and dull than ever, except in some places, and there I am a little fury, especially *if they dare mention my dear lord without*

out respect, which sometimes happens.—I have not yet seen her grace [the duchess of Ormond], but design it in a day or two: we have kept a constant correspondence ever since *our* misfortunes, and her grace is pleased to call me sister."

In another letter, dated August 4, of the same year, she says, "I hope one time or other, his majesty will find my lord has been misrepresented; and by that means he may be restored to his country once more with honour: or else, however harsh it may sound out of my mouth, I had rather wear black. These are my real sentiments."

As to my lord Bolingbroke's second wife, there are sufficient proofs of his affectionate regard for her in his correspondence with Swift and Pope; and indeed this part of his character, it is universally acknowledged, does him much honour. "His constant attachment to this amiable and interesting lady," says the late editor of Pope's works, "is a very captivating trait in his character. In proportion as he stood, from increasing years and disappointment, forlorn in the world, he felt more strongly her kindness, her attachment, and tender fidelity. She certainly looked up to him as the first of human beings." She died about two years before his lordship.

As a man of genius, and a writer of no common acuteness and vivacity, lord Bolingbroke filled a considerable space in the literary world. His most intimate connexions were formed with Swift and Pope, and in their respective works are abundant

abundant proofs of intimacy, of friendship, and coincidence of sentiment. The views of this triumvirate in political affairs were nearly the same, and their aims were probably not far different. Bolingbroke wanted power, and Swift promotion. Pope's wishes are less obvious. He so frequently professes contentment with his situation, and contempt for all that the world can bestow, that we are under the necessity of believing him an associate with the others from friendship, and from a dislike of what and of whom they disliked. His religion stood in the way of court-favour, and he was surely unreasonable, if with an income of 800l. he did not think himself "passing rich."—Nothing, however, is more evident than the lofty opinion these correspondents had of each other, and the consciousness, not unfrequently repeated, that they were enabled to look down upon the pitiful concerns of this world, with the wisdom and indifference of superior beings.

Of those two associates, Swift was the oldest, and in many respects the ablest. Bolingbroke's first interview with him appears to have taken place on November 11, 1710, when he invited Swift to dine with him; but the latter appears to have formed no very high opinion of his new acquaintance at this time, and, as already noticed, expresses his surprise, that the office of secretary of state should be filled by a young fellow, hardly thirty. He complains too of having been treated with the cant of the court.

Their

Their intimacy, however, increased rapidly, and in their interchange of sentiments we find the same opinion of their sufferings and unmerited neglect, and the same affected philosophy in despising the objects of their ambition. Bolingbroke appears, indeed, to have captivated Swift, who was not easily pleased, in no common degree. In one of his Examiners, dated February 1, 1711, not three months after their first interview, he characterises him as one "who, from his youth applying those admirable talents of nature, and improvements of art, to publick business, grew eminent in court and parliament, at an age when the generality of mankind is employed in trifles and folly. It is to be lamented, that he has not yet procured himself a busy, important countenance, nor learned that profound part of wisdom, to be difficult of access. Besides, he has clearly mistaken the true use of books, which he has thumbed and spoiled with reading, when he ought to have multiplied them on his shelves; not like a great man of my acquaintance, who knew a book by the back, better than a friend by the face, although he had never conversed with the former, and often with the latter."

But as this character was written for the publick, and in a paper in which Bolingbroke was concerned, the reader may perhaps derive more satisfactory proof of Swift's esteem from what he says in one of his confidential communications. In the Journal to Stella, November 1711, he gives the following pleasing and animated character: "I think

"I think Mr. St. John the greatest young man I ever knew: wit, capacity, beauty, quickness of apprehension, good learning, and an excellent taste; the best orator in the house of commons, admirable conversation, good nature, and good manners; generous, and a despiser of money. His only fault is, talking to his friends in way of complaint of too great a load of business, which looks a little like affectation; and he endeavours too much to mix the fine gentleman and man of pleasure, with the man of business. What truth and sincerity he may have, I know not: he is now but thirty-two, and has been secretary above a year."

That Swift did not afterward discover any deficiency of truth and sincerity in Bolingbroke's character, may perhaps be inferred from their intimacy continuing during the whole of his life. Bolingbroke carried on a correspondence with him when in exile, and assured him, that among all the losses which he had sustained, none affected him more sensibly than that of Swift's company and conversation. At this time (1716) he wishes to represent himself and his correspondent as "two men who are out of the world, and who do not care one farthing to return to it again!"

Familiar, however, as they were, there were some matters, which Bolingbroke did not communicate ingenuously. Swift either did not know, or affected to conceal Bolingbroke's transactions with the Pretender. "Bolingbroke," he says, in a letter to the archbishop of Dublin, "was three

three or four days at the court of France, while he was secretary; and it is barely possible, he might then have entered into some deep negotiation with the Pretender; although I would not believe him, if he should swear it, because he protested to me, that he never saw him but once, and that was at a great distance, in publick, at an opera." This incident occurred in 1712, when Bolingbroke was on his embassy at Paris, and it was important enough to give uneasiness to the Queen. "She was highly and publickly displeased with my lord Bolingbroke, because he was seen under the same roof with that person at an opera, when his lordship was sent to France upon some difficulties about the peace. Her majesty said, that he ought immediately to have withdrawn upon the appearance of the other."—The reader need not be told, that her majesty's subsequent conduct toward the Pretender is somewhat inconsistent with this account, as far as regards her displeasure.

But, whatever lord Bolingbroke might conceal from Swift, it does not appear, that when all was discovered he forfeited his correspondent's good opinion. His attachment no where is more evident than in the character he gives of his lordship, in his celebrated pamphlet, "An Inquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry." After lamenting, that he should have *singled out* (an expression strikingly characteristick of Swift's importance in his own eyes) three persons, Oxford, Ormond, and Bolingbroke, from the rest of mankind,

mankind, and should have seen them all, within the compass of a year, accused of high treason, he thus characterises lord Bolingbroke: "It happens to very few men, in any age or country, to come into the world with so many advantages of nature and fortune, as the late secretary Bolingbroke: descended from the best families in England, heir to a great patrimonial estate, of a sound constitution, and a most graceful, amiable person: but all these, had they been of equal value, were infinitely inferior in degree to the accomplishments of his mind, which was adorned with the choicest gifts, that God has yet thought fit to bestow upon the children of men: a strong memory, a clear judgment, a vast range of wit and fancy, a thorough comprehension, an invincible eloquence, with a most agreeable elocution. He had well cultivated all these talents by travel and study; the latter of which he seldom omitted, even in the midst of his pleasures, of which he had indeed been too great and criminal a pursuer: for, although he was persuaded to leave off intemperance in wine, which he did for some time to such a degree that he seemed rather abstemious; yet he was said to allow himself other liberties, which can by no means be reconciled to religion or morals; whereof I have reason to believe he began to be sensible. But he was fond of mixing pleasure and business, and of being esteemed excellent at both; upon which account he had a great respect for the characters of Alcibiades and Petronius, especially the latter, whom he

he would be gladly thought to resemble. His detractors charged him with some degree of affectation, and perhaps not altogether without grounds, since it was hardly possible for a young man, with half the business of the nation upon him, and the applause of the whole, to escape some tincture of that infirmity. He had been early bred to business, was a most artful negotiator, and perfectly understood foreign affairs. But what I have often wondered at in a man of his temper, was his prodigious application whenever he thought it necessary; for he would plod whole days and nights, like the lowest clerk in an office. His talent of speaking in publick, for which he was so very much celebrated, I know nothing of, except from the information of others: but understanding men of both parties have assured me, that in this point, in their memory and judgment, he was never equalled."

In this character, Swift's friendship has not swayed him to conceal the objectionable parts of Bolingbroke's conduct, and the representation he has given is probably on that account more to be depended on, than the looser assertions of the friends of the Walpole party, who seem inclined to deprive him of every thing valuable in genius and morals.

In the correspondence of Bolingbroke, Swift, and Pope, it must be acknowledged, there is an appearance of affectation, which has brought a general suspicion on their sincerity, and an overvaluing of their consequence, which will certainly not

not now be allowed. With respect to friendship and sincerity, Bolingbroke has some remarks deserving of consideration, in a letter to Swift, dated March 1719. "The truest reflection, and at the same time the bitterest satire, which can be made on the present age, is this: that to think as you think, will make a man pass for romantick. Sincerity, constancy, tenderness, are rarely to be found. They are so much out of use, that the man of mode imagines them to be out of nature. We meet with few friends; the greatest part of those who pass for such are, properly speaking, nothing more than acquaintance: and no wonder, since Tully's maxim is certainly true, that friendship can subsist *non nisi inter bonos*. At that age of life, when there is balm in the blood, and that confidence in the mind which the innocency of our own heart inspires, and the experience of other men's destroys, I was apt to confound my acquaintance and my friends together," &c.

In all this we have the sentiments of a man of experience, and of more moral feeling than we should have expected from one, whom it has been the fashion to represent as uniformly profligate, and whom we know to have studied himself into infidelity. Yet in these sentiments it would be hard to suppose him insincere. He doubtless felt what he expressed at the moment; but he ought to have reflected, that he brought upon himself some of those sufferings, which are out of the common occurrences of life. The unfaithful friends to whom he alludes were political friends, who

who had embraced the safer side, while he was an exile, useless, and abandoned by his country.

To this favourite subject of friendship he again recurs in a letter written in 1721, assuring his correspondent, that there is more pleasure, and more merit too, in cultivating friendship, than in taking care of the state. Fools and knaves are generally best fitted for the last; and none but men of sense and virtue are capable of the other. Several years after this (1727) when at Dawley, he exclaims, "would to God my whole life could be divided in the same manner, two-thirds to friendship, one third to myself, and not a moment to the world." And yet the whole of his life, from this period to the end of sir Robert Walpole's administration, was a struggle to subvert the measures of that minister.

Pope appears to have been introduced to Bolingbroke by Swift, before his lordship was compelled to fly from impeachment. He was ten years younger than Bolingbroke, and, it is well known, looked up to him as to a preceptor—as his "Guide, Philosopher, and Friend." Their friendship was soon cemented by an intimate correspondence, when Bolingbroke was abroad, and was renewed by mutual and frequent visits to Twickenham and Dawley. The coincidence, however, between their political principles was sometimes apparently interrupted by Pope's more impartial regard and candid praise of some individuals of the opposite party. In particular he is said to have greatly offended Bolingbroke by

his high encomium on lord Oxford, in the Epistle to that nobleman. But Swift had done the same justice to Oxford on many occasions, and, what is very singular, maintained an equal intimacy with both, which we do not find that Bolingbroke resented, although he sometimes mentioned Oxford to Swift with the usual contempt, which he never could conceal. In this Swift acted with a consistency and manliness, which must, if any thing could, have made him beloved by both. He thought much higher of the morals and integrity of Oxford than he did of his antagonist; yet in their mutual bickerings, he often blames Oxford, and entirely acquits Bolingbroke. In his first letter to Bolingbroke, after the Queen's death, dated August 7, 1714, he says, "I will swear for no man's sincerity, much less that of a minister of state: but thus much I have said, whenever it was proper, that your lordship's proposals were always the fairest in the world, and I faithfully delivered them as I was empowered," &c.

As to Pope's obligations to lord Bolingbroke for the principles of the Essay on Man, they are too well known to require a minute account in this sketch. The late lord Bathurst repeatedly assured Dr. Warton, that he had read the whole scheme of the Essay on Man in the hand-writing of Bolingbroke, and drawn up in a series of propositions, which Pope was to amplify, versify, and illustrate. Ruffhead, who wrote under the direction of Warburton, and whose Life of Pope is not entitled to the praise of much sagacity, has, however,

however, very happily hit on the difference between lord Bolingbroke's system, as laid down in the Essays in these volumes, and that of Pope in the poem:

"Pope's Essay on Man is a real vindication of Providence against libertines and atheists, who quarrel with the present constitution of things, and deny a future state. To these he answers, that *whatever is, is right:* and he assigns this reason, that we see only a part of the moral system, and not the whole. Therefore these irregularities, serving to great purposes, such as the fuller manifestation of God's goodness and justice, they are right.—On the other hand, lord Bolingbroke's Essays are a pretended vindication of Providence against an imaginary confederacy between divines and atheists; who use a common principle, namely, the irregularities of God's moral government here, for different ends and purposes, the one to establish a future state, the other to discredit the being of a God. Lord Bolingbroke opposes both conclusions, by endeavouring to overthrow the common principle by his friend's maxim, *whatever is, is right*; not because the present state of one moral world (which is part only of a general system) is necessary for the perfection of the whole, but because one moral world is an entire system of itself. In a word, the poet directs his reasonings against atheists and libertines, in support of religion; lord Bolingbroke against divines, in support of naturalism. Mr. Pope's argument is manly, systematical, and

convincing; lord B.'s confused, prevaricating and inconsistent."

But we must not give Pope the credit of knowing all this. It is now generally agreed by his biographers, that Bolingbroke deceived him, and never discovered his real principles: and indeed Pope was so much of a poet, and so little of a metaphysician, that it would be paying him a very extraordinary compliment, to suppose him acquainted with the full scope and tendency of lord Bolingbroke's philosophy. On the other hand, can we suppose that Pope had never heard enough or read enough of his lordship's principles, to have taken alarm? The following anecdote from Ruffhead will not solve this question: A few days before Mr. Pope's death, he would be carried to London, to dine with Mr. Murray, in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, whom he loved with the fondness of a father; and he was solicitous that lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Warburton should be of the party. Some time before, Mr. Warburton being with Mr. Pope at Twickenham, Mr. Hook came in and told them, he had supped the night before at Battersea with lord Bolingbroke; when his lordship in conversation advanced the strangest notions concerning the *moral attributes* of the Deity, which amounted to an express denial of them. This account gave Mr. Pope much uneasiness, and he told Mr. Hook, with some peevish heat, that he was sure he was mistaken. The other replied as warmly, that he thought he had sense enough not to mistake a man who spoke plainly,

plainly, and in a language he understood. Here the matter dropped. But Mr. Pope was so shocked at this imputation, that he did not rest till he had asked lord Bolingbroke whether Mr. Hook was not mistaken. Lord Bolingbroke assured him Mr. Hook misunderstood him. This assurance, Mr. Pope, with great pleasure, acquainted Mr. Warburton with, the next time he saw him. Both lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Pope were so full of this matter, that at dinner at Mr. Murray's (afterwards earl Mansfield) the conversation, among other things, naturally turned on this subject; when, from a very suspicious remark of his lordship's, Mr. Warburton took occasion to speak of the clearness of our notions concerning the *moral attributes*; which occasioned a debate, that ended in some warmth on his lordship's side.

This anecdote, Mr. Ruffhead thinks, not only furnishes a vindication of Mr. Pope's religious sentiments, but likewise obviates the unjust reflections which have been thrown on the bishop of Gloucester, as if he had not attacked his lordship's impiety till after his death. Whether it will bear these inferences, is somewhat doubtful; but if Bolingbroke was not sufficiently candid with Pope, he expresses himself very freely to Swift, of whose principles perhaps he was less afraid: "Does Pope talk to you of the noble work which, at my instigation, he has begun in such a manner, that he must be convinced by this time I judged better of his talents than he did? The first Epistle, which considers man relatively to the whole system

of universal being: the second, which considers him in his own habitation, in himself: and the third, which shows how a universal cause works to one end, but works by various laws; how man, and beast, and vegetable, are linked in a mutual dependency, parts necessary to each other, and necessary to the whole; how human societies were formed; from what spring true religion and true policy are derived; how God has made our greatest interests and our plainest duty indivisibly the same: these three Epistles, I say, are finished. The fourth he is now intent upon. It is a noble subject; he pleads the cause of God. I use Seneca's expression against that famous charge which atheists in all ages have brought — the supposed unequal dispensations of Providence; a charge which I cannot heartily forgive you divines for admitting. You admit it, indeed, for an extreme good purpose, and you build on this admission the necessity of a future state of rewards and punishments; but if you should find, that this future state will not account for God's justice in the present state, which you give up, in opposition to the atheist, would it not have been better to defend God's justice in this world, against these daring men, by irrefragable reasons, and to have rested the other point on revelation? I do not like concessions made against demonstration, repair or supply them how you will. The Epistles I have mentioned will compose a first book; the plan of the second is settled. You will not understand, by what I have said, that Pope will go

so

so deep into the argument, or carry it so far as I have hinted."

By such means, the moral was destroyed of a poem, which, an elegant critick observes, will continue to charm, from the musick of its verse, the splendour of it's diction, and the beauty of it's illustrations, when the philosophy that gave rise to it, like the coarse manure that fed the flowers, is perceived and remembered no more *. We may add, how much better service did Bolingbroke render Pope, whose genius he certainly estimated very accurately, when he suggested the imitation of the First Satire of the Second Book of Horace!

Their sentiments for each other have all the appearance, all the warm and affectionate expression, of the tenderest and most lasting friendship. Pope, in one of his letters to Richardson the painter, who had drawn Bolingbroke, avers that posterity will, through the means of that portrait, "see the man whom it will for ages honour, vindicate, and applaud, when envy is no more, and when (as I have already said in the essay to which you are so partial)

"The sons shall blush the fathers were his foes."

To Aaron Hill he says, with still more fervency, "My lord Bolingbroke is yet with me; more properly, I yet belong to him, body as well as mind, for my mind is every where his." It would be difficult to believe, if our evidence of

* Bowles's Pope, vol. iii. p. 13.

the fact were not so copious, that such reciprocal professions should end in the bitterness of resentment, and that at a time when resentment, even among vulgar minds, is accounted unnatural, when Bolingbroke had but just wiped away the tears he shed over his dying friend, and when Pope could no longer answer for himself. Does not this remind us of Bolingbroke's quotation, that friendship exists *non nisi inter bonos* ?—As the cause of their quarrel has been amply detailed in Johnson's, Warton's, and Bowles's Lives of Pope, the reader is referred to these authorities, and in particular to the notes attached to the last edition of Pope's works. On a careful examination of the whole matter, candour will probably decide, that Pope's conduct was suspicious, and that Bolingbroke's resentment was unmanly. He was now, however, in years, and his passions, under supposed injury, rather unmanageable.

His last days presented a melancholy picture. Mr. Bowles, in his edition of Pope, gives the following anecdote: "When Bolingbroke was very ill, in his retirement at Battersea, it was customary for many people to pay their respects to him, chiefly with the view of seeing and conversing with a character so distinguished. Among others, lord Chatham, then a young man, called on him; but found him pedantick, fretful, angry with his wife," &c.

Lord Chesterfield, who knew him better, and mentions his latter days with a compassion which enforces belief, has given us a more edifying account

account of his temper and sufferings. But before transcribing what the noble earl says on this subject, it may be necessary to refer to his biographer, Dr. Maty, for some information respecting their connexion.

After mentioning that Swift appears to have been much less intimate with lord Chesterfield than Pope was, he adds, that perhaps it were to be wished, that lord Chesterfield had maintained the same reserve with lord Bolingbroke; *but lord Bolingbroke was not to be resisted.* In that extraordinary man, nature seems to have blended two different and opposite souls; and he might have been the greatest character of his, or of any age, if, in many respects, he had not shown himself the weakest. In corroboration of this character, he gives the substance of a private conversation, in which lord Chesterfield is reported to have said of Bolingbroke, " that, though nobody spoke and wrote better upon philosophy than his lordship, no man in the world had less share of philosophy than himself: that the least trifle, such as the overroasting of a leg of mutton, would strangely disturb and ruffle his temper; and that his passions constantly got the better of his judgment. He added, that no man was more partial to his friends, and more ready to oblige them, than he was; and that he would recommend them, and represent them, as so many models of perfection: but, on the other hand, that he was a most bitter enemy to those he hated; and though their merit might be out of all dispute, he

he would not allow them the least share of it, but would pronounce them so many fools and blockheads."

The reader will not perhaps find much that is distinctive in this character. The difference between the profession and the practice of philosophy, between an author and his writings, is too frequent an occurrence to excite surprise. We learn, however, from Dr. Maty, that lord Chesterfield's acquaintance with Bolingbroke commenced long before the great opposition to sir Robert Walpole, and perhaps was begun at Paris. One reason of this connexion was, certainly, that much could be learned from him, particularly with regard to publick affairs; and, though the earl by no means adopted either his political or religious principles in their full extent, he continued in great intimacy with him to his death. "I have been told," adds Dr. Maty, "that George I, who owned himself under great obligations to lord Bolingbroke, intended, if he had lived to return to England, to have made him prime minister; and I should believe this intelligence sufficiently well-grounded, if, on the other hand, no less respectable authorities did not oblige me to suspend my judgment on this point. Posterity will, perhaps, continue some time in the same state of indecision." Dr. Maty's authority for this anecdote was Mallet, and it appears to have been confirmed in some degree by others. Lord Walpole always denied it. A Walpole, indeed, would admit of no evidence in favour of Bolingbroke.

Scarce

Scarce any event, Dr. Maty informs us in a subsequent part of his Life of Lord Chesterfield, could have been more affecting to that nobleman, than the death of lord Bolingbroke, which took place in 1751. He had seen him for several months labouring under a cruel, and to appearance incurable disorder. A cancerous humour in his face made a daily progress; and the empirical treatment he submitted to not only hastened his end, but also exposed him to the most excruciating pain. He saw him, for the last time, the day before his tortures began. Though the unhappy patient, as well as his friend, did then expect that he should recover, and accordingly desired him not to come again till his cure was completed, yet he still took leave of him in a manner, which showed how much he was affected. He embraced the earl with tenderness, and said, "God, who placed me here, will do what he pleases with me hereafter, and he knows best what to do. May he bless you."

In one of lord Chesterfield's letters to a lady of rank at Paris, he says, "I frequently see our friend Bolingbroke, but I see him with great concern. A humour he has long had in his cheek proves to be cancerous, and has made an alarming progress of late. Hitherto it is not attended with pain, which is all he wishes, for as to the rest he is resigned. Truly, a mind like his, so far superior to the generality, would have well deserved that nature should have made an effort

in

in his favour as to the body, and given him an uncommon share of health and duration."

The last scene is thus lamented, in a letter to the same lady:—"Are you not greatly shocked, but I am sure you are, at the dreadful death of our friend Bolingbroke? The remedy has hastened his death, against which there was no remedy, for his cancer was not topical, but universal, and had so infected the whole mass of his blood, as to be incurable. What I most lament is, that the medicines put him to exquisite pain; an evil I dread much more than death, both for my friends and myself. I lose a warm, an amiable, and instructive friend. I saw him a fortnight before his death, when he depended upon a cure, and so did I; and he desired I would not come any more till he was quite well, which he expected would be in ten or twelve days. The next day the great pains came on, and never left him till within two days of his death, during which he lay insensible. What a man! what extensive knowledge! what a memory! what eloquence! His passions, which were strong, were injurious to the delicacy of his sentiments; they were apt to be confounded together, and often wilfully. The world will do him more justice now than in his lifetime."—Lord Chesterfield's more particular opinion of Bolingbroke will appear hereafter.

In Bowles's edition of Pope's works are many of Bolingbroke's friendly and confidential letters to sir William Wyndham, a man of unimpeached

principles, who appears to have cherished an intimacy and high opinion of his lordship to the last; and doubtless many other documents might have been produced in his favour, if his memory had not been injured by the publication of some works which alarmed the Christian world. They had the excellent effect, however, to produce a controversy of the most salutary tendency, and which proved, that in a nation of wise and thinking men, where Christianity has one enemy, it has at the same time a host of defenders.

CHARACTERS OF LORD BOLINGBROKE.

SOME of the following characters of lord Bolingbroke appeared in the last edition of his works. It is unnecessary to specify those which are now added, and which may assist the reader, who thinks his lordship's character an object of curious inquiry.

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD'S CHARACTER OF LORD BOLINGBROKE.

I have sent you, in a packet which your Leipsig acquaintance, Duval, sends to his correspondent at Rome, lord Bolingbroke's Letters on Patriotism, and the Idea of a Patriot King, which he published about a year ago. I desire that you will read these letters over and over again, with particular attention to the style, and to all those beauties of oratory, with which they are adorned. Till I read that

that book, I confess I did not know all the extent and powers of the English language. Lord Bolingbroke has both a tongue and a pen to persuade; his manner of speaking in private conversation is full as elegant as his writings; whatever subject he either speaks or writes upon, he adorns it with the most splendid eloquence; not a studied or laboured eloquence, but such a flowing happiness of diction, which (from care perhaps at first) is become so habitual to him, that even his most familiar conversations, if taken down in writing, would bear the press, without the least correction either as to method or style. If his conduct, in the former part of his life, had been equal to all his natural and acquired talents, he would most justly have merited the epithet of all-accomplished. He is himself sensible of his past errours: those violent passions, which seduced him in his youth, have now subsided by age; and, take him as he is now, the character of all-accomplished is more his due, than any man's I ever knew in my life.

But he has been a most mortifying instance of the violence of human passions, and of the weakness of the most exalted human reason. His virtues and his vices, his reason and his passions, did not blend themselves by a gradation of tints, but formed a shining and sudden contrast.

Here the darkest, there the most splendid colours, and both rendered the more shining from their proximity. Impetuosity, excess, and almost extravagancy, characterised not only his passions, but even his senses. His youth was distinguished by

by all the tumult and storm of pleasures, in which he most licentiously triumphed, disdaining all decorum. His fine imagination has often been heated and exhausted with his body in celebrating and deifying the prostitute of the night; and his convivial joys were pushed to all the extravagancy of frantic Bacchanals. These passions were interrupted but by a stronger, ambition. The former impaired both his constitution and his character, but the latter destroyed both his fortune and his reputation.

He has noble and generous sentiments, rather than fixed reflected principles of good-nature and friendship; but they are more violent than lasting, and suddenly and often varied to their opposite extremes, with regard even to the same persons. He receives the common attentions of civility as obligations, which he returns with interest; and resents with passion the little inadvertencies of human nature, which he repays with interest too. Even a difference of opinion upon a philosophical subject would provoke, and prove him no practical philosopher, at least.

Notwithstanding the dissipation of his youth, and tumultuous agitation of his middle age, he has an infinite fund of various and almost universal knowledge, which, from the clearest and quickest conception, and happiest memory, that ever man was blessed with, he always carries about him. It is his pocket-money, and he never has occasion to draw upon a book for any sum. He excels more particularly in history, as his historical

historical works plainly prove. The relative, political, and commercial interests of every country in Europe, particularly of his own, are better known to him, than perhaps to any man in it; but how steadily he has pursued the latter, in his publick conduct, his enemies, of all parties and denominations, tell with joy.

He engaged young, and distinguished himself in business; and his penetration was almost intuition. I am old enough to have heard him speak in parliament. And I remember, that, though prejudiced against him by party, I felt all the force and charms of his eloquence. Like Belial, in Milton,

"He made the worse appear the better cause."

All the internal and external advantages and talents of an orator are undoubtedly his; figure, voice, elocution, knowledge, and, above all, the purest and most florid diction, with the justest metaphors, and happiest images, had raised him to the post of secretary at war, at four and twenty years old; an age at which others are hardly thought fit for the smallest employments.

During his long exile in France, he applied himself to study with his characteristical ardour; and there he formed, and chiefly executed the plan of a great philosophical work. The common bounds of human knowledge are too narrow for his warm and aspiring imagination. He must go "*extra flammantia mœnia mundi*," and explore the unknown and unknowable regions of metaphysicks, which open an unbounded field for the

the excursions of an ardent imagination; where endless conjectures supply the defect of unattainable knowledge, and too often usurp both it's name and influence.

He has had a very handsome person, with a most engaging address in his air and manners: he has all the dignity and good breeding which a man of quality should or can have, and which so few, in this country at least, really have *.—Chest. Lett. vol. ii. p. 289, &c.

MRS. COCKBURN'S CHARACTER OF LORD BOLINGBROKE.

It is time now to come to lord Bolingbroke, though I fear I have by this time so prejudiced you against my vindications, that I shall be ill heard in favour of him; but I must speak my true sentiments, and you will judge as you are inclined. All the invectives against that great man ought to be ascribed to party rage, for that is the real source of them. Queen Anne's last ministry, of which he was one, were accused of designing to bring in the Pretender; what their views were, and what the ground of their quarrel among themselves, is a mystery to this day; and I believe will be so, till his history of those times appears, which I fear will not be in my lifetime. Dr. Swift (who had laboured much, though in vain, to reconcile lord Oxford and him, and therefore knew all their measures) earnestly presses him, in some letters after his return from

* This character was afterward published in the supplement to lord Chesterfield's miscellaneous works, somewhat differently arranged.

exile, to publish the history he was about, that the world might know and esteem him as much as he does. But no doubt he was quite another man, when he had laid aside his politicks, and applied himself to the study of philosophy, in a retirement of several years from the busy world. It was after this period, that Mr. Pope's intimacy with him was chiefly contracted; and in the letters which passed between them and Dr. Swift, he appears to be of a very worthy and amiable character. He first urged Mr. Pope to turn his thoughts to moral subjects, who looked on him as his guide in life, and a most useful friend,

"In various nature wise,"

as he justly says of him; and all the world had seen him

"Fall with dignity, with temper rise."

Now I appeal to you, whether the judgment of two such men, as Dr. Swift and Mr. Pope, is not more to be credited in favour of lord Bolingbroke, whom they intimately knew, than invectives upon uncertain appearances, and the distant guesses of a party satirist.—Mrs. Cockburn's Works, by Dr. Birch, Letters, vol. ii.

RUFFHEAD'S CHARACTER OF LORD BOLINGBROKE.

Lord Bolingbroke came early into the great world. What natural good principles he had were corrupted by that political accommodation, that habit of dissimulation, which is, or is thought to be, necessary for those that fill the high stations in the active scenes of life. To this perhaps, as well as to some constitutional causes, it was owing, that

that his lordship's feelings were many of them affected, all of them transient.

His Letters on the Spirit of Patriotism, on the Idea of a Patriot King, and on the State of Parties at the accession of king George I., at best contain little more than commonplace declamation. His Patriot Prince is no better than a mere school declamation, which acquaints the world with this important secret, "that if a prince could be once brought to love his country, he would always act for the good of it." Mr. Pope's partiality for this treatise, and fondness for his friend, however, led him to print it, and, it is said, without the knowledge and consent of his noble friend. On this account, his lordship cast very severe expressions on Pope's honour and sincerity: but it seemed to be a pretence for indulging his spleen and resentment against the dead poet (for his friendly sincerity respecting his remarks as to the authenticity of the Scriptures) whom he dared not attack while living.

It is not to be wondered that his lordship should harbour such a pitiful resentment, when his character is considered; which was vain, arrogant, and vindictive. Being disappointed in his views of taking the lead in the political world, he as vainly attempted to preside in the literary republick: and as he could not endure a colleague in politicks, neither could he bear a rival in letters. To be opposed in either, mortified his pride and provoked his malice; and he became the *calumniator* of his friend, from the same principle that

he turned a *rebel* to his country.—Ruffhead's Life of Pope.

Dr. Johnson very justly remarked, that Ruffhead knew nothing of Pope, and nothing of poetry; and it may with equal justice be affirmed, that he knew little of Bolingbroke, unless from second hand. It is well known, that Warburton guided his pen in most parts of the Life of Pope.—In the two following characters, we have the hereditary animosity of the Walpole family.

CHARACTER OF LORD BOLINGBROKE, BY LORD WALPOLE.

The four last years of the administration of Queen Anne's reign presented a scene the most iniquitous, that ever was brought on the stage of publick affairs. All the hopeful expectations of reaping the fruit of much blood and treasure (which then seemed infallible) were blasted and confounded on a sudden, by the prevailing intrigues of a faction composed of a few ambitious and designing men, in concert with a new favourite lady, who had gained the affections of the Queen. These new projectors broke through the barriers of honour, honesty, and good faith; and, giving up all concern, not only for the interest of our friends, but of their own country, without any other motive or provocation than that of satisfying their wicked and aspiring views at any rate, and in order to bring in the Pretender, they flung themselves into the arms of France.

Lord Bolingbroke, who was a principal manager in defence of the administration, is very bold

bold and dogmatick in his assertions, employs much art and colouring to set them off to the best advantage, and to make superficial and imaginary notions, void of all proof or argument, pass for realities; and, to divert the reader's attention from the object of truth, he takes great pains to calumniate others, the usual resource of a weak cause: his assertions are positive, displayed with great assurance, and in a plausible and amusing style; but a judicious person, acquainted with the papers of the times, will easily see through the fallacious and deceitful veil of his partial and malicious representation, unmask the political *charlatan*, and detect his pretended erudition and veracity.

CHARACTER OF LORD BOLINGBROKE, BY HORACE WALPOLE, EARL OF ORFORD.

With the most agreeable talents in the world, and with great parts, he was neither happy nor successful. He wrote against the king, who had forgiven him; against sir Robert Walpole, who *did forgive him*; against the Pretender and the clergy, who never will forgive him. He is one of our best writers: though his attacks on all governments and all religions (neither of which views he cared directly to own) have necessarily involved his style in a want of perspicuity. One must know the man, before one can often guess his meaning. He has two other faults, which one should not expect in the same writer, much tautology, and great want of connexion.

When this character appeared in Mr. Walpole's

Royal and Noble Authors, the Monthly Review made the following just remarks on the gross falsehood of one of his assertions:

"That Bolingbroke wrote against the king, who had forgiven him, is certain; but that he wrote against sir Robert Walpole, *who did forgive him*, we cannot admit. He wrote against sir Robert, because he did *not* forgive him; and because he prevented his being restored to those honours, which he wished to recover. That sir Robert was implacable against him, appears from a speech which he made in the house, and which he concluded with the following imprecation:—'May his attainder never be reversed, and may his crimes never be forgotten.'—"

CHARACTER OF LORD BOLINGBROKE, BY LORD ORRERY.

Lord Bolingbroke had early made himself master of books and men; but in his first career of life, being immersed at once in business and pleasure, he ran through a variety of scenes in a surprising and eccentrick manner. When his passions subsided by years and disappointment, and when he had improved his rational faculties by more grave studies and reflection, he shone out in his retirement with a lustre peculiar to himself, though not seen by vulgar eyes. The gay statesman was changed into a philosopher, equal to any of the sages of antiquity. The wisdom of Socrates, the dignity and ease of Pliny, and the wit of Horace, appeared in all his writings and conversation.

CHARACTER

CHARACTER OF LORD BOLINGBROKE,

BY TINDAL,

The Continuator of Rapin's History.

He came early into life, and was naturally formed with every accomplishment, that could strike and please, either in publick or private. Though his learning cannot be said to have been any other than superficial, yet he possessed so much of it, and knew how to turn it to so much advantage in conversation, that the most knowing could not pronounce him to be shallow, either in divinity or philosophy: neither was he ever discovered to be such, till the publick had an opportunity of coolly judging of his posthumous works, upon which he was known to value himself so much in his lifetime. His easy and pleasing manners received incredible advantages from a universal prejudice in favour of his abilities, raised by Mr. Pope and other writers, who stood at the head of polite literature in Europe. It cannot, however, be denied, that he was occasionally, perhaps, the best political writer that ever appeared in England. Several circumstances contributed to this: he had a personal hatred to sir Robert Walpole and his family, which gave such an edge to his pen, and such a glow to his language, that his writings exhibited to the greatest advantage the strongest ridicule and the sublimest sentiment. The next advantage he had was the despicable abilities of the writers he encountered: and lastly, by his connexions and correspondence abroad, he had excellent intelligence both of the

interests and transactions of foreign courts. He was pertinacious, but not deep, in the English history; and the Dissertation upon Parties, for which he was so much celebrated, is but, at best, a plausible performance; if it was called shallow, the character, perhaps, would be more just. The same may be pronounced of his other writings upon English history. Though he was for some time at the head of the high-church party, yet he was in his principles an infidel as to all revealed religion; and the arguments he has employed in his posthumous works, to support his opinions, discover how very superficially he read and studied.

Under the appearance of the most perfect resignation to his fate, and contemning all power, he concealed the most malicious resentments, and the most ambitious projects that could rise in a human breast. His treatment of Mr. Pope, to whom he was under the highest obligations, even pecuniary ones, immediately after that poet's death, showed his ingratitude as a man; his abandoning his principles, and entering into the service of the Pretender, whom he likewise betrayed, showed his profligacy as a minister. The truth is, there was in his nature no constancy, and consequently there was in his conduct no consistency, though he had very often long fits of application to business. His being restored to a capacity of inheriting in England, and pardoned as to his life and fortune, was owing to the intrigues of a French lady, who was, or lived with him in the rank of, his wife, and who was in all respects, except the profligate part of his character,

racter, a more extraordinary woman than he was a man. His want of steadiness appeared even in his domestick œconomy, by which he often ran into difficulties. In his youth he had been intemperate, which was a proof of the excellency of his constitution; for he lived to the 70th year of his age.

THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF THE LATE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY ST. JOHN, LORD VISC. BOLINGBROKE.

In the name of God, whom I humbly adore, to whom I offer up perpetual thanksgiving, and to the order of whose providence I am cheerfully resigned: This is the Last Will and Testament of me, Henry Saint John, in the reign of queen Ann, and by her grace and favour viscount Bolingbroke, after more than thirty years proscription, and after the immense losses I have sustained by unexpected events in the course of it; by the injustice and treachery of persons nearest to me; by the negligence of friends; and by the infidelity of servants. As my fortune is so reduced at this time, that it is impossible for me to make such disposition, and to give such ample legacies as I always intended, I content therefore to give as follows:

My debts, and the expenses of my burial in a decent and private manner at Battersea, in the vault where my last wife lies, being first paid, I give to William Chetwynd of Stafford, esq., and Joseph Taylor of the Inner-Temple, London, esq., my two assured friends, each of them one hundred guineas,

guineas, to be laid out by them, as to each of them shall seem best, in some memorial, as the legacy of their departed friend; and I constitute them executors of this my will. The diamond ring which I wear upon my finger, I give to my old and long approved friend the marquis of Matignon, and, after his decease, to his son the count de Gace, that I may be kept in the remembrance of a family whom I love and honour above all others.

Item, I give to my said executors, the sum of four hundred pounds in trust to place out the same in some of the publick funds, or government securities, or any other securities, as they shall think proper, and to pay the interest or income thereof to Francis Arboneau, my valet-de-chambre, and Ann his wife, and the survivor of them; and after the decease of the survivor of them, if their son John Arboneau shall be living and under the age of eighteen years, to pay the said interest or income to him, until he shall attain his said age, and then to pay the principal money, or assign the securities for the same to him; but if he shall not be living at the decease of his father and mother, or shall afterwards die before his said age of eighteen years, in either of the said cases, the said principal sum of four hundred pounds, and the securities for the same, shall sink into my personal estate, and be accounted part thereof.

Item, I give to my two servants, Marianne Tribon, and Remi Charnet commonly called Picard, each one hundred pounds; and to every other

other servant living with me at the time of my decease, and who shall have lived with me two years or longer, I give one year's wages more than what shall be due to them at my death.

And whereas I am the author of the several books or tracts following, viz.

Remarks on the History of England, from the Minutes of Humphrey Oldcastle. In twenty-four letters.

A Dissertation upon Parties. In nineteen letters, to Caleb Danvers, esq.

The Occasional Writer. Numb. 1, 2, 3.

The Vision of Camilick.

An Answer to the London Journal of December 21, 1728, by John Trot.

An Answer to the Defence of the Enquiry into the Reasons of the Conduct of Great Britain.

A final Answer to the Remarks on the Craftsman's Vindication.

All which books or tracts have been printed and published; and I am also the author of

Four Letters on History, &c.

Which have been privately printed, and not published; but I have not assigned to any person or persons whatsoever the copy, or the liberty of printing or reprinting any of the said books, or tracts, or letters: Now I do hereby, as far as by law I can, give and assign to David Mallet, of Putney in the County of Surrey, esquire, the copy and copies of all and each of the before-mentioned books or tracts, and letters, and the liberty of reprinting the same. I also give to the said David Mallet, the copy and copies of all

all the manuscript books, papers, and writings, which I have written or composed, or shall write or compose, and leave at the time of my decease. And I further give to the said David Mallet, all the books which, at the time of my decease, shall be in the room called my library.

All the rest and residue of my personal estate, whatsoever and wheresoever, I give to my said executors; and hereby revoking all former wills, I declare this to be my last will and testament. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal the twenty-second day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one.

HENRY SAINT JOHN, BOLINGBROKE.

Signed, sealed, published, and declared by the said testator, as and for his last will and testament, in the presence of

OLIVER PRICE.
THOMAS HALL.

Proved at London, the fifth day of March 1752, before the worshipful Robert Chapman, doctor of laws and surrogate, by the oaths of William Chetwynd and Joseph Taylor, esquires, the executors named in the will, to whom administration was granted, being first sworn duly to administer.

March 1752. WILLIAM LEGARD, PETER ST. ELOY, HENRY STEVENS, } Deputy Registers.

A

LETTER

TO

SIR WILLIAM WINDHAM:

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR

1717.

A

LETTER

TO

SIR WILLIAM WINDHAM.

I WAS well enough acquainted with the general character of mankind, and in particular with that of my own countrymen, to expect to be as much out of the minds of the tories during my exile, as if we had never lived and acted together. I depended on being forgot by them, and was far from imagining it possible that I should be remembered, only to be condemned loudly by one half of them, and to be tacitly censured by the greatest part of the other half. As soon as I was separated from the Pretender and his interest, I declared myself to be so; and I gave directions for writing into England what I judged sufficient to put my friends on their guard against any surprise concerning an event, which it was their interest, as well as mine, that they should be very rightly informed about.

As soon as the Pretender's adherents began to clamour against me in this country, and to disperse their scandal by circular letters every where else, I gave directions for writing into England again. Their groundless articles of accusation were refuted, and enough was said to give my friends a

general idea of what had happened to me, and at least to make them suspend the fixing any opinion, till such time as I should be able to write more fully and plainly to them myself. To condemn no person unheard is a rule of natural equity, which we see rarely violated in Turkey, or in the country where I am writing: that it would not be so with me in Great Britain, I confess that I flattered myself. I dwelt securely in this confidence, and gave very little attention to any of those scurrilous methods which were taken, about this time, to blast my reputation. The event of things has shown, that I trusted too much to my own innocence, and to the justice of my old friends.

It was obvious, that the Chevalier and the earl of Mar hoped to load me with the imputation of treachery, incapacity, or neglect; it was indifferent to them of which. If they could ascribe to one of those their not being supported from France, they imagined that they should justify their precipitate flight from Scotland, which many of their fastest friends exclaimed against; and that they should varnish over that original capital fault, the drawing the highlanders together in arms at the time and in the manner in which it was done.

The Scotch, who fell at once from all the sanguine expectations with which they had been soothed, and who found themselves reduced to despair, were easy to be incensed: they had received no support whatever, and it was natural for

for them rather to believe, that they failed of this support by my fault, than to imagine their general had prevailed on them to rise in the very point of time when it was impossible that they should be supported from France, or from any other part of the world. The duke of Ormond, who had been the bubble of his own popularity, was enough out of humour with the general turn of affairs to be easily set against any particular man. The emissaries of this court, whose commission was to amuse, had imposed upon him all along, and there were other busy people who thought to find their account in having him to themselves. I had never been in his secret while we were in England together: and from his first coming into France he was either prevailed upon by others, or, which I rather believe, he concurred with others to keep me out of it. The perfect indifference I showed whether I was in it or no, might carry him from acting separately, to act against me.

The whole tribe of Irish and other papists were ready to seize the first opportunity of venting their spleen against a man, who had constantly avoided all intimacy with them; who acted in the same cause but on a different principle, and who meant no one thing in the world less than raising them to the advantages which they expected.

That these several persons, for the reasons I have mentioned, should join in a cry against me, is not very marvellous: the contrary would be so to a man who knows them as well as I do. But that the English tories should serve as echoes to

them, nay more, that my character should continue doubtful at best amongst you, when those who first propagated the slander are become ashamed of railing without proof, and have dropped the clamour, this I own that I never expected, and I may be allowed to say, that as it is an extreme surprise, so it shall be a lesson to me.

The whigs impeached and attainted me. They went farther—at least in my way of thinking that step was more cruel than all the others—by a partial representation of facts, and pieces of facts, put together as it best suited their purpose, and published to the whole world, they did all that in them lay to expose me for a fool, and to brand me for a knave. But then I had deserved this abundantly at their hands, according to the notions of party-justice. The tories have not indeed impeached nor attainted me; but they have done, and are still doing something very like to that which I took worse of the whigs, than the impeachment and attainder: and this, after I have shown an inviolable attachment to the service, and almost an implicit obedience to the will of the party; when I am actually an outlaw, deprived of my honours, stripped of my fortune, and cut off from my family and my country for their sakes.

Some of the persons who have seen me here, and with whom I have had the pleasure to talk of you, may perhaps have told you, that far from being oppressed by that storm of misfortunes in which I have been tossed of late, I bear up against

against it with firmness enough, and even with alacrity. It is true, I do so: but it is true likewise, that the last burst of the cloud has gone near to overwhelm me. From our enemies we expect evil treatment of every sort, we are prepared for it, we are animated by it, and we sometimes triumph in it: but when our friends abandon us, when they wound us, and when they take, to do this, an occasion where we stand the most in need of their support, and have the best title to it, the firmest mind finds it hard to resist.

Nothing kept up my spirits when I was first reduced to the very circumstances I now describe, so much as the consideration of the delusions under which I knew that the tories lay, and the hopes I entertained of being able soon to open their eyes, and to justify my conduct. I expected that friendship, or if that principle failed, curiosity at least would move the party to send over some person, from whose report they might have both sides of the question laid before them. Though this expectation be founded in reason, and you want to be informed at least as much as I do to be justified, yet I have hitherto flattered myself with it in vain. To repair this misfortune, therefore, as far as lies in my power, I resolve to put into writing the sum of what I should have said in that case: these papers shall lie by me till time and accidents produce some occasion of communicating them to you. The true occasion of doing it, with advantage to the party, will probably be lost: but they will remain a monument

of my justification to posterity. At worst if even this fails me, I am sure of one satisfaction in writing them; the satisfaction of unburdening my mind to a friend, and of stating before an equitable judge the account, as I apprehend it to stand, between the tories and myself. "Quantum humano concilio efficere potui, circumspectis rebus meis omnibus, rationibusque subductis, summam feci cogitationum mearum omnium, quam tibi si potero breviter exponam."

It is necessary to my design that I call to your mind the state of affairs in Britain from the latter part of the year one thousand seven hundred and ten, to the beginning of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifteen, about which time we parted. I go no farther back, because the part which I acted before that time, in the first essays I made in public affairs, was the part of a tory, and so far of a piece with that which I acted afterward. Besides, the things which preceded this space of time had no immediate influence on those which happened since that time; whereas the strange events which we have seen fall out in the king's reign were owing in a great measure to what was done, or neglected to be done, in the last four years of the queen's. The memory of these events being fresh, I shall dwell as little as possible upon them. It will be sufficient that I make a rough sketch of the face of the court, and of the conduct of the several parties during that time. Your memory will soon furnish the colours which I shall omit to lay, and finish up the picture.

From

From the time at which I left Britain I had not the advantage of acting under the eyes of the party which I served, nor of being able from time to time to appeal to their judgment. The gross of what happened has appeared, but the particular steps which led to those events have been either concealed or misrepresented. Concealed from the nature of them, or misrepresented by those with whom I never agreed perfectly, except in thinking that they and I were extremely unfit to continue embarked in the same bottom together. It will, therefore, be proper to descend, under this head, to a more particular relation.

In the summer of the year one thousand seven hundred and ten, the queen was prevailed upon to change her parliament and her ministry. The intrigue of the earl of Oxford might facilitate the means, the violent prosecution of Sacheverel, and other unpopular measures might create the occasion, and encourage her in the resolution: but the true original cause was the personal ill usage which she received in her private life, and in some trifling instances of the exercise of her power; for indulgence in which she would certainly have left the reins of government in those hands, which had held them ever since her accession to the throne.

I am afraid that we came to court in the same dispositions as all parties have done; that the principal spring of our actions was to have the government of the state in our hands; that our principal views were the conservation of this power,

power, great employments to ourselves, and great opportunities of rewarding those who had helped to raise us, and of hurting those who stood in opposition to us. It is however true, that with these considerations of private and party interest, there were others intermingled which had for their object the public good of the nation, at least what we took to be such.

We looked on the political principles which had generally prevailed in our government, from the revolution in one thousand six hundred and eighty-eight, to be destructive of our true interest, to have mingled us too much in the affairs of the continent, to tend to the impoverishing our people, and to the loosening the bands of our constitution in church and state. We supposed the tory party to be the bulk of the landed interest, and to have no contrary influence blended into its composition. We supposed the whigs to be the remains of a party, formed against the ill-designs of the court under king Charles the Second, nursed up into strength, and applied to contrary uses by king William the third, and yet still so weak as to lean for support on the presbyterians and the other sectaries, on the bank and the other corporations, on the Dutch and the other allies. From hence we judged it to follow, that they had been forced, and must continue so, to render the national interest subservient to the interest of those who lent them an additional strength, without which they could never be the prevalent party. The view, therefore, of those amongst

amongst us who thought in this manner, was to improve the queen's favour, to break the body of the whigs, to render their supports useless to them, and to fill the employments of the kingdom down to the meanest with tories. We imagined that such measures, joined to the advantages of our numbers and our property, would secure us against all attempts during her reign; and that we should soon become too considerable, not to make our terms in all events which might happen afterward: concerning which, to speak truly, I believe few or none of us had any very settled resolution.

In order to bring these purposes about, I verily think that the persecution of dissenters entered into no man's head. By the bills for preventing occasional conformity and the growth of schism, it was hoped that their sting would be taken away. These bills were thought necessary for our party interest, and besides were deemed neither unreasonable nor unjust. The good of society may require, that no person should be deprived of the protection of the government on account of his opinions in religious matters; but it does not follow from hence, that men ought to be trusted in any degree with the preservation of the establishment, who must, to be consistent with their principles, endeavour the subversion of what is established. An indulgence to consciences, which the prejudice of education and long habits have rendered scrupulous, may be agreeable to the rules of good policy and of humanity: yet will

will it hardly follow from hence, that a government is under any obligation to indulge a tenderness of conscience to come; or to connive at the propagating of these prejudices, and at the forming of these habits. The evil effect is without remedy, and may therefore deserve indulgence; but the evil cause is to be prevented, and can, therefore, be entitled to none. Beside this, the bills I am speaking of, rather than to enact any thing new, seemed only to enforce the observation of ancient laws; which had been judged necessary for the security of the church and state, at a time when the memory of the ruin of both, and of the hands by which that ruin had been wrought, was fresh in the minds of men.

The Bank, the East-India Company, and in general the moneyed interest, had certainly nothing to apprehend like what they feared, or affected to fear from the tories, an entire subversion of their property. Multitudes of our own party would have been wounded by such a blow. The intention of those, who were the warmest, seemed to me to go no farther than restraining their influence on the legislature, and on matters of state; and finding at a proper season means to make them contribute to the support and ease of a government, under which they enjoyed advantages so much greater than the rest of their fellow subjects. The mischievous consequence which had been foreseen and foretold too, at the establishment of those corporations, appeared visibly. The country gentlemen were vexed, put to great

expenses, and even baffled by them in their elections: and among the members of every parliament numbers were immediately or indirectly under their influence. The Bank had been extravagant enough to pull off the mask, and when the Queen seemed to intend a change in her ministry, they had deputed some of their members to represent against it. But that which touched sensibly, even those who were but little affected by other considerations, was the prodigious inequality between the condition of the moneyed men and of the rest of the nation. The proprietor of the land, and the merchant who brought riches home by the returns of foreign trade, had during two wars bore the whole immense load of the national expenses; while the lender of money, who added nothing to the common stock, throve by the public calamity, and contributed not a mite to the public charge.

As to the allies, I saw no difference of opinion among all those who came to the head of affairs at this time. Such of the tories as were in the system abovementioned, such of them as deserted soon after from us, and such of the whigs as had upon this occasion deserted to us, seemed equally convinced of the unreasonableness and even of the impossibility of continuing the war on the same disproportionate foot. Their universal sense was, that we had taken, except the part of the States General, the whole burden of the war upon us, and even a proportion of this; while the entire advantage was to accrue to others: that

this

this had appeared very grossly in one thousand seven hundred and nine and one thousand seven hundred and ten, when preliminaries were insisted upon, which contained all that the allies, giving the greatest loose to their wishes, could desire, and little or nothing on the behalf of Great Britain: that the war, which had been begun for the security of the allies, was continued for their grandeur; that the ends proposed when we engaged in it might have been answered long before, and therefore that the first favourable occasion ought to be seized of making peace; which we thought to be the interest of our country, and which appeared to all mankind, as well as to us, to be that of our party.

These were in general the views of the tories, and for the part I acted in the prosecution of them, as well as of all the measures accessory to them, I may appeal to mankind. To those who had the opportunity of looking behind the curtain I may likewise appeal for the difficulties which lay in my way, and for the particular discouragements which I met with. A principal load of parliamentary and foreign affairs in their ordinary course lay upon me: the whole negotiation of the peace and of the troublesome invidious steps preliminary to it, as far as they could be transacted at home, were thrown upon me. I continued in the house of commons during that important session which preceded the peace; and which, by the spirit shown through the whole course of it, and by the resolutions taken in it, rendered the conclusion

conclusion of the treaties practicable. After this I was dragged into the house of lords in such a manner, as to make my promotion a punishment, not a reward, and was there left to defend the treaties almost alone.

It would not have been hard to have forced the earl of Oxford to use me better. His good intentions began to be very much doubted of: the truth is, no opinion of his sincerity had ever taken root in the party; and which was worse, perhaps, for a man in his station, the opinion of his capacity began to fall apace. He was so hard pushed in the house of lords in the beginning of one thousand seven hundred and twelve, that he had been forced, in the middle of the session, to persuade the Queen to make a promotion of twelve peers at once; which was an unprecedented and invidious measure, to be excused by nothing but the necessity, and hardly by that. In the house of commons his credit was low, and my reputation very high. You know the nature of that assembly: they grow, like hounds, fond of the man who shows them game, and by whose halloo they are used to be encouraged. The thread of the negotiations, which could not stand still a moment without going back, was in my hands: and before another man could have made himself master of the business, much time would have been lost, and great inconveniencies would have followed. Some, who opposed the court soon after, began to waver then: and if I had not wanted the inclination, I should have wanted no

help

help to do mischief. I knew the way of quitting my employments and of retiring from court when the service of my party required it: but I could not bring myself up to that resolution, when the consequence of it must have been the breaking my party, and the distress of the public affairs. I thought my Mistress treated me ill, but the sense of that duty which I owed her came in aid of other considerations, and prevailed over my resentment. These sentiments, indeed, are so much out of fashion, that a man who avows them is in danger of passing for a bubble in the world: yet they were, in the conjuncture I speak of, the true motives of my conduct, and you saw me go on as cheerfully in the troublesome and dangerous work assigned me, as if I had been under the utmost satisfaction. I began, indeed, in my heart, to renounce the friendship, which till that time I had preserved inviolable for Oxford. I was not aware of all his treachery, nor of the base and little means which he employed then, and continued to employ afterward, to ruin me in the opinion of the Queen and every where else. I saw, however, that he had no friendship for any body, and that with respect to me, instead of having the ability to render that merit which I endeavoured to acquire an addition of strength to himself, it became the object of his jealousy, and a reason for undermining me. In this temper of mind I went on, till the great work of the peace was consummated, and the treaty signed at Utrecht; after which a new and more melancholy

lancholy scene for the party, as well as for me, opened itself.

I am far from thinking the treaties, or the negotiations which led to them, exempt from faults. Many were made no doubt in both, by those who were concerned in them, by myself in the first place: and many were owing purely to the opposition they met with in every step of their progress. I never look back on this great event, past as it is, without a secret emotion of mind; when I compare the vastness of the undertaking, and the importance of its success, with the means employed to bring it about, and with those which were employed to traverse it. To adjust the pretensions and to settle the interests of so many princes and states, as were engaged in the late war, would appear, when considered simply and without any adventitious difficulty, a work of prodigious extent. But this was not all. Each of our allies thought himself entitled to raise his demands to the most extravagant height. They had been encouraged to this, first by the engagements which we had entered into with several of them; with some to draw them into the war, with others to prevail on them to continue it, and secondly by the manner in which we had treated with France in seventeen hundred nine and ten. Those who intended to tie the knot of the war as hard, and to render the coming at a peace as impracticable as they could, had found no method so effectual as that of leaving every one at liberty to insist on all he could think

of, and leaving themselves at liberty, even if these concessions should be made, to break the treaty by ulterior demands. That this was the secret, I can make no doubt after the confession of one of the plenipotentiaries * who transacted these matters, and who communicated to me and to two others of the Queen's ministers an instance of the duke of Marlborough's management at a critical moment, when the French ministers at Gertrudenberg seemed inclinable to come into an expedient for explaining the thirty-seventh article of the preliminaries, which could not have been refused. Certain it is, that the king of France was at that time in earnest to execute the article of Philip's abdication: and therefore the expedients for adjusting what related to this article would easily enough have been found, if on our part there had been a real intention of concluding. But there was no such intention: and the plan of those who meant to prolong the war was established among the allies, as the plan which ought to be followed whenever a peace came to be treated. The allies imagined, that they had a right to obtain at least every thing which had been demanded for them respectively: and it was visible that nothing less would content them. These considerations set the vastness of the undertaking in a sufficient light.

The importance of succeeding in the work of the peace, was equally great to Europe, to our

* Buys, pensionary of Amsterdam.

country,

country, to our party, to our persons, to the present age, and to future generations. But I need not take pains to prove what no man will deny. The means employed to bring it about were in no degree proportionable. A few men, some of whom had never been concerned in business of this kind before, and most of whom put their hands for a long time to it faintly and timorously, were the instruments of it. The minister who was at their head showed himself every day incapable of that attention, that method, that comprehension of different matters, which the first post in such a government as ours requires in quiet times. He was the first spring of all our motion by his credit with the Queen, and his concurrence was necessary to every thing we did by his rank in the state: and yet this man seemed to be sometimes asleep, and sometimes at play. He neglected the thread of business, which was carried on for this reason with less dispatch and less advantage in the proper channels, and he kept none in his own hands. He negotiated, indeed, by fits and starts, by little tools, and indirect ways: and thus his activity became as hurtful as his indolence; of which I could produce some remarkable instances. No good effect could flow from such a conduct. In a word, when this great affair was once engaged, the zeal of particular men in their several provinces drove it forward, though they were not backed by the concurrent force of the whole administration, nor had the common helps of advice till it was too

late, till the very end of the negotiations: even in matters, such as that of commerce, which they could not be supposed to understand. That this is a true account of the means used to arrive at the peace, and a true character of that administration in general, I believe the whole cabinet council of that time will bear me witness. Sure I am, that most of them have joined with me in lamenting this state of things while it subsisted, and all those who were employed as ministers in the several parts of the treaty felt sufficiently the difficulties which this strange management often reduced them to. I am confident they have not forgot them.

If the means employed to bring the peace about were feeble, and in one respect contemptible, those employed to break the negotiation were strong and formidable. As soon as the first suspicion of a treaty's being on foot crept abroad into the world, the whole alliance united with a powerful party in the nation to obstruct it. From that hour to the moment the congress of Utrecht finished, no one measure possible to be taken was omitted to traverse every advance that was made in this work, to intimidate, to allure, to embarrass every person concerned in it. This was done without any regard either to decency or good policy: and from hence it soon followed, that passion and humour mingled themselves on each side. A great part of what we did for the peace, and of what others did against it, can be accounted for on no other principle. The allies were broke among

among themselves before they began to treat with the common enemy. The matter did not mend in the course of the treaty: and France and Spain, but especially the former, profited of this disunion.

Whoever makes the comparison, which I have touched upon, will see the true reasons which rendered the peace less answerable to the success of the war than it might, and than it ought to have been. Judgment has been passed in this case, as the different passions or interests of men have inspired them. But the real cause lay in the constitution of our ministry, and much more in the obstinate opposition which we met with from the whigs and from the allies. However, sure it is, that the defects of the peace did not occasion the desertions from the tory party which happened about this time, nor those disorders in the court which immediately followed.

Long before the purport of the treaties could be known, those whigs who had set out with us, in seventeen hundred and ten, began to relapse back to their party. They had among us shared the harvest of a new ministry, and like prudent persons they took measures in time to have their share in that of a new government.

The whimsical, or the Hanover-tories, continued zealous in appearance with us, till the peace was signed. I saw no people so eager for the conclusion of it*. Some of them were in such

* Hanmer's letter.

haste, that they thought any peace preferable to the least delay, and omitted no instances to quicken their friends who were actors in it. As soon as the treaties were perfected and laid before the parliament, the scheme of these gentlemen began to disclose itself entirely. Their love of the peace, like other passions, cooled by enjoyment. They grew nice about the construction of the articles, could come up to no direct approbation, and, being let into the secret of what was to happen, would not preclude themselves from the glorious advantage of rising on the ruins of their friends and of their party.

The danger of the succession, and the badness of the peace, were the two principles on which we were attacked. On the first, the whimsical tories joined the whigs, and declared directly against their party. Although nothing is more certain than this truth, that there was at that time no formed design in the party, whatever views some particular men might have, againſt his majesty's accession to the throne. On the latter and most other points, they affected a most glorious neutrality.

Instead of gathering strength, either as a ministry or as a party, we grew weaker every day. The peace had been judged with reason to be the only solid foundation whereupon we could erect a tory system: and yet when it was made we found ourselves at a full stand. Nay the very work, which ought to have been the basis of our strength, was in part demolished before our eyes,

and

and we were stoned with the ruins of it. Whilst this was doing, Oxford looked on, as if he had not been a party to all which had passed; broke now and then a jest, which savoured of the inns of court and the bad company in which he had been bred: and on those occasions, where his station obliged him to speak of business, was absolutely unintelligible.

Whether this man ever had any determined view, besides that of raising his family, is, I believe, a problematical question in the world. My opinion is, that he never had any other. The conduct of a minister, who proposes to himself a great and noble object, and who pursues it steadily, may seem for a while a riddle to the world; especially in a government like ours, where numbers of men, different in their characters and different in their interests, are at all times to be managed: where public affairs are exposed to more accidents and greater hazards than in other countries; and where, by consequence, he who is at the head of business will find himself often distracted by measures which have no relation to his purpose, and obliged to bend himself to things which are in some degree contrary to his main design. The ocean which environs us is an emblem of our government: and the pilot and the minister are in similar circumstances. It seldom happens, that either of them can steer a direct course, and they both arrive at their port by means which frequently seem to carry them from it. But as the work advances,

the conduct of him who leads it on with real abilities clears up, the appearing inconsistencies are reconciled, and when it is once consummated, the whole shows itself so uniform, so plain, and so natural, that every dabbler in politics will be apt to think he could have done the same. But, on the other hand, a man who proposes no such object, who substitutes artifice in the place of ability, who, instead of leading parties and governing accidents, is eternally agitated backwards and forwards by both, who begins every day something new, and carries nothing on to perfection, may impose awhile on the world: but a little sooner or a little later the mystery will be revealed, and nothing will be found to be couched under it but a thread of pitiful expedients, the ultimate end of which never extended farther than living from day to day. Which of these pictures resembles Oxford most, you will determine. I am sorry to be obliged to name him so often; but how is it possible to do otherwise, while I am speaking of times wherein the whole turn of affairs depended on his motions and character?

I have heard, and I believe truly, that when he returned to Windsor in the autumn of seventeen hundred and thirteen, after the marriage of his son, he pressed extremely to have him created duke of Newcastle or earl of Clare: and the Queen presuming to hesitate on so extraordinary a proposal, he resented this hesitation in a manner which little became a man who had been so lately raised by the profusion of her favours upon

him. Certain it is, that he began then to show a still greater remissness in all parts of his ministry, and to affect to say, that from such a time, the very time I am speaking of, he took no share in the direction of affairs, or words to that effect.

He pretended to have discovered intrigues which were set on foot against him, and particularly he complained of the advantage which was taken of his absence, during the journey he made at his son's marriage, to undermine him with the Queen. He is naturally inclined to believe the worst, which I take to be a certain mark of a mean spirit and a wicked soul: at least I am sure that the contrary quality, when it is not due to weakness of understanding, is the fruit of a generous temper, and an honest heart. Prone to judge ill of all mankind, he will rarely be seduced by his credulity; but I never knew a man so capable of being the bubble of his distrust and jealousy. He was so in this case, although the Queen, who could not be ignorant of the truth, said enough to undeceive him. But to be undeceived, and to own himself so, was not his play. He hoped by cunning to varnish over his want of faith and of ability. He was desirous to make the world impute the extraordinary part, or, to speak more properly, the no part which he acted with the staff of treasurer in his hand, to the Queen's withdrawing her favour from him, and to his friends abandoning him: pretences utterly groundless, when he first made them, and which he brought to be real at last. Even the winter be-

fore

fore the Queen's death, when his credit began to wane apace, he might have regained it; he might have reconciled himself perfectly with all his ancient friends, and have acquired the confidence of the whole party. I say he might have done all this; because I am persuaded that none of those I have named were so convinced of his perfidy, so jaded with his yoke, or so much picqued personally against him, as I was: and yet if he would have exerted himself in concert with us, to improve the few advantages which were left us, and to ward off the visible danger which threatened our persons and our party, I would have stifled my private animosity, and would have acted under him with as much zeal as ever. But he was uncapable of taking such a turn. The sum of all his policy had been to amuse the whigs, the tories, and the jacobites, as long as he could, and to keep his power as long as he amused them. When it became impossible to amuse mankind any longer, he appeared plainly at the end of his line.

By a secret correspondence with the late earl of Halifax, and by the intrigues of his brother, and other fanatical relations, he had endeavoured to keep some hold on the whigs.

The tories were attached to him at first by the heat of a revolution in the ministry, by their hatred of the people who were discarded, and by the fond hopes which it is easy to give at the setting out of a new administration. Afterward he held out the peace in prospect to them, and to the jacobites,

jacobites, separately, as an event which must be brought about before he could effectually serve either. You cannot have forgot how things which we pressed were put off, upon every occasion, till the peace: the peace was to be the date of a new administration, and the period at which the millenary year of toryism should begin. Thus were the tories at that time amused: and since my exile I have had the opportunity of knowing certainly and circumstantially that the jacobites were treated in the same manner, and that the Pretender was made, through the French minister, to expect that measures should be taken for his restoration, as soon as the peace had rendered them practicable. He was to attempt nothing, his partisans were to lie still, Oxford undertook for all.

After many delays, fatal to the general interest of Europe, this peace was signed, and the only considerable thing which he brought about afterwards was the marriage I have mentioned above: and by it an accession of riches and honour to a family whose estate was very mean, and whose illustration before this time I never met with any where but in the vain discourses which he used to hold over claret. If he kept his word with any of the parties above-mentioned, it must be supposed that he did so with the whigs; for as to us we saw nothing after the peace but increase of mortification and nearer approaches to ruin. Not a step was made towards completing the settlement of Europe, which the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt left

left imperfect; towards fortifying and establishing the tory party; towards securing those who had been the principal actors in this administration against future events. We had proceeded in a confidence that these things should immediately follow the conclusion of the peace: he had never, I dare swear, entertained a thought concerning them. As soon as the last hand was given to the fortune of his family, he abandoned his mistress, his friends, and his party, who had bore him so many years on their shoulders: and I was present when this want of faith was reproached him in the plainest and strongest terms by one of the honestest * men in Britain, and before some of the most † considerable tories. Even his impudence failed him on this occasion; he did not so much as attempt an excuse.

He could not keep his word which he had given the Pretender and his adherents, because he had formed no party to support him in such a design. He was sure of having the whigs against him if he made the attempt, and he was not sure of having the tories for him.

In this state of confusion and distress, to which he had reduced himself and us, you remember the part he acted. He was the spy of the whigs, and voted with us in the morning against those very questions which he had penned the night before with Walpole and others.——He kept his

* Lord Trevor.

† Duke of Ormond, lord Anglesey, lord Harcourt, and myself, in Oxford's lodgings in St. James's house.

post

post on terms which no man but he would have held it on, neither submitting to the Queen, nor complying with his friends. He would not, or he could not act with us, and he resolved that we should not act without him, as long as he could hinder it. The Queen's health was very precarious, and at her death he hoped by these means to deliver us up, bound as it were hand and foot, to our adversaries. On the foundation of this merit he flattered himself that he had gained some of the whigs, and softened at least the rest of the party to him. By his secret negotiations at Hanover, he took it for granted that he was not only reconciled to that court, but that he should under his present majesty's reign have as much credit as he had enjoyed under that of the Queen. He was weak enough to boast of this, and to promise his good offices voluntarily to several, for no man was weak enough to think them worth being solicited. In a word, you must have heard that he answered to lord Dartmouth and to Mr. Bromley, that one should keep the privy seal, and the other the seals of secretary; and that lord Cowper makes no scruple of telling how he came to offer him the seals of chancellor. When the king arrived, he went to Greenwich with an affectation of pomp and of favour. Against his suspicious character, he was once in his life the bubble of his credulity: and this delusion betrayed him into a punishment, more severe in my sense than all which has happened to him since, or than perpetual exile; he was affronted in the manner

manner in which he was presented to the king. The meanest subject would have been received with goodness, the most obnoxious with an air of indifference; but he was received with the most distinguishing contempt. This treatment he had in the face of the nation. The king began his reign, in this instance, with punishing the ingratitude, the perfidy, the insolence which had been shown to his predecessor. Oxford fled from court covered with shame, the object of the derision of the whigs, and of the indignation of the tories.

The Queen might, if she had pleased, have saved herself from all those mortifications she met with during the last months of her reign, and her servants and the tory party from those misfortunes which they endured during the same time; perhaps from those which they have fallen into since her death. When she found that the peace, from the conclusion of which she expected ease and quiet, brought still greater trouble upon her; when she saw the weakness of her government, and the confusion of her affairs increase every day; when she saw her first minister bewildered and unable to extricate himself or her; in fine, when the negligence of his public conduct, and the sauciness of his private behaviour, had rendered him insupportable to her, and she took the resolution of laying him aside; there was a strength still remaining sufficient to have supported her government, to have fulfilled in great part the expectations of the tories, and to have constituted

both

both them and the ministers in such a situation as would have left them little to apprehend. Some designs were indeed on foot, which might have produced very great disorders: Oxford's conduct had given much occasion to them, and with the terrour of them he endeavoured to intimidate the Queen. But expedients were not hard to be found, by which those designs might have been nipped in the bud, or else by which the persons who promoted them might have been induced to lay them aside. But that fatal irresolution inherent to the Stuart race hung upon her. She felt too much inward resentment to be able to conceal his disgrace from him: yet after he had made this discovery, she continued to trust all her power in his hands.

No people ever were in such a condition as ours continued to be from the autumn of one thousand seven hundred and thirteen, to the summer following. The Queen's health sunk every day. The attack which she had in the winter at Windsor served as a warning both to those who wished, and to those who feared her death, to expect it. The party which opposed the court had been continually gaining strength by the weakness of our administration: and at this time their numbers were vastly increased, and their spirit was raised by the near prospect of the succession taking place. We were not at liberty to exert the strength we had. We saw our danger, and many of us saw the true means of avoiding it: but while the magic wand was in the

the same hands, this knowledge served only to increase our uneasiness; and whether we would or no, we were forced with our eyes open to walk on towards the precipice. Every moment we became less able, if the Queen lived, to support her government: if she died, to secure ourselves. One side was united in a common view, and acted upon a uniform plan; the other had really none at all. We knew that we were out of favour at the court of Hanover, that we were represented there as jacobites, and that the elector, his present majesty, had been rendered publicly a party to that opposition, in spite of which we made the peace: and yet we neither had taken, nor could take, in our present circumstances, any measures to be better or worse there. Thus we languished till the twenty-seventh of July one thousand seven hundred and fourteen, when the Queen dismissed the treasurer. On the Friday following, she fell into an apoplexy, and died on Sunday the first of August.

You do me, I dare say, the justice to believe, that while this state of things lasted I saw very well, how little mention soever I might make of it at the time, that no man in the ministry, or in the party, was so much exposed as myself. I could expect no quarter from the whigs, for I had deserved none. There were persons among them for whom I had great esteem and friendship; yet neither with these nor with any others had I preserved a secret correspondence, which might be of use to me in the day of distress: and besides the

the general character of my party, I knew that particular prejudices were entertained against me at Hanover. The whigs wanted nothing but an opportunity of attacking the peace, and it could hardly be imagined that they would stop there. In which case I knew, that they could have hold on no man so much as myself: the instructions, the orders, the memorials had been drawn by me; the correspondence relating to it in France, and every where else, had been carried on by me; in a word, my hand appeared to almost every paper, which had been writ in the whole course of the negotiation. To all these considerations I added that of the weight of personal resentment, which I had created against myself at home and abroad: in part unavoidably by the share I was obliged to take in these affairs; and in part, if you will, unnecessarily by the warmth of my temper, and by some unguarded expressions, for which I have no excuse to make, but that which Tacitus makes for his father-in-law, Julius Agricola: "honestius "putabam offendere quam odisse."

Having this prospect of being distinguished from the rest of my party, in the common calamity, by severer treatment, I might have justified myself, by reason and by great authorities too, if I had made early provision, at least to be safe, when I should be no longer useful. How I could have secured this point I do not think fit to explain, but certain it is, that I made no one step toward it. I resolved not to abandon my party by turning whig, or, which is worse a great deal,

whimsical, nor to treat separately from it. I resolved to keep myself at liberty to act on a tory bottom. If the Queen disgraced Oxford and continued to live afterwards, I knew we should have time and means to provide for our future safety: if the Queen died and left us in the same unfortunate circumstances, I expected to suffer for and with the tories, and I was prepared for it.

The thunder had long grumbled in the air, and yet when the bolt fell, most of our party appeared as much surprised, as if they had had no reason to expect it. There was a perfect calm and universal submission through the whole kingdom. The Chevalier indeed set out, as if his design had been to gain the coast and to embark for Great Britain, and the court of France made a merit to themselves of stopping him and obliging him to return. But this, to my certain knowledge, was a farce acted by concert, to keep up an opinion of his character, when all opinion of his cause seemed to be at an end. He owned this concert to me at Bar, on the occasion of my telling him, that he would have found no party ready to receive him, and that the enterprise would have been to the last degree extravagant. He was at this time far from having any encouragement: no party, numerous enough to make the least disturbance, was formed in his favour. On the king's arrival the storm arose. The menaces of the whigs, backed by some very rash declarations, by little circumstances of humour

which

which frequently offend more than real injuries, and by the entire change of all the persons in employment, blew up the coals.

At first many of the tories had been made to entertain some faint hopes, that they would be permitted to live in quiet. I have been assured, that the king left Hanover in that resolution. Happy had it been for him and for us, if he had continued in it; if the moderation of his temper had not been overborne by the violence of party, and his and the national interest sacrificed to the passions of a few. Others there were among the tories, who had flattered themselves with much greater expectations than these, and who had depended, not on such imaginary favour, and dangerous advancement as was offered them afterward, but on real credit and substantial power under the new government. Such impressions on the minds of men had rendered the two houses of parliament, which were then sitting, as good courtiers to king George, as ever they had been to queen Anne. But all these hopes being at once and with violence extinguished, despair succeeded in their room.

Our party began soon to act like men delivered over to their passions, and unguided by any other principle; not like men fired by a just resentment and a reasonable ambition to a bold undertaking. They treated the government like men who were resolved not to live under it, and yet they took no one measure to support themselves against it. They expressed, without reserve or circumspec-

tion, an eagerness to join in any attempt against the establishment which they had received and confirmed, and which many of them had courted many weeks before: and yet in the midst of all this bravery, when the election of the new parliament came on, some of these very men acted with the coolness of those who are much better disposed to compound than to take arms.

The body of the tories being in this temper, it is not to be wondered at, if they heated one another, and began apace to turn their eyes toward the pretender: and if those few, who had already engaged with him, applied themselves to improve the conjuncture and endeavoured to list a party for him.

I went, about a month after the Queen's death, as soon as the seals were taken from me, into the country; and while I continued there, I felt the general disposition to jacobitism increase daily among people of all ranks; among several who had been constantly distinguished by their aversion to that cause. But at my return to London in the month of February or March one thousand seven hundred and fifteen, a few weeks before I left England, I began for the first time in my whole life to perceive these general dispositions ripen into resolutions, and to observe some regular workings among many of our principal friends, which denoted a scheme of this kind. These workings, indeed, were very faint; for the persons concerned in carrying them on did not think it safe to speak too plainly to men who were, in truth,

truth, ill disposed to the government, because they neither found their account at present under it, nor had been managed with art enough to leave them hopes of finding it hereafter; but who at the same time had not the least affection for the pretender's person, nor any principle favourable to his interest.

This was the state of things when the new parliament, which his majesty had called, assembled. A great majority of the elections had gone in favour of the whigs; to which the want of concert among the tories had contributed as much as the vigour of that party, and the influence of the new government. The whigs came to the opening of this parliament full of as much violence as could possess men who expected to make their court, to confirm themselves in power, and to gratify their resentments by the same measures. I have heard that it was a dispute among the ministers how far this spirit should be indulged; and that the king was determined, or confirmed in a determination, to consent to the prosecutions, and to give the reins to the party, by the representations that were made to him, that great difficulties would arise in the conduct of the session, if the court ſhould appear inclined to check this spirit, and by Mr. W———'s undertaking to carry all the business successfully through the house of commons if they were at liberty. Such has often been the unhappy fate of our princes: a real necessity sometimes, and sometimes a seeming one, has forced them to compound with

a part of the nation at the expense of the whole; and the success of their business for one year has been purchased at the price of public disorder for many.

The conjuncture I am speaking of affords a memorable instance of this truth. If milder measures had been pursued, certain it is, that the tories had never universally embraced jacobitism. The violence of the whigs forced them into the arms of the pretender. The court and the party seemed to vie with one another which should go the greatest lengths in severity: and the ministers, whose true interest it must at all times be to calm the minds of men, and who ought never to set the examples of extraordinary inquiries or extraordinary accusations, were upon this occasion the tribunes of the people.

The council of regency, which began to sit as soon as the Queen died, acted like a council of the holy office. Whoever looked on the face of the nation saw every thing quiet; not one of those symptoms appearing, which must have shown themselves more or less at that moment, if, in reality, there had been any measures taken during the former reign to defeat the protestant succession. His majesty ascended the throne with as little contradiction and as little trouble, as ever a son succeeded a father in the possession of a private patrimony. But he, who had the opportunity, which I had till my dismission, of seeing a great part of what passed in that council, would have thought that there had been an opposition actually

actually formed, that the new establishment was attacked openly from without, and betrayed from within.

The same disposition continued after the king's arrival. This political inquisition went on with all the eagerness imaginable in seizing of papers, in ransacking the Queen's closet, and examining even her private letters. The whigs had clamoured loudly, and affirmed in the face of the world, that the nation had been sold to France, to Spain, to the pretender: and while they endeavoured in vain, by very singular methods, to find some colour to justify what they had advanced without proof, they put themselves under an absolute necessity of grounding the most solemn prosecution on things whereof they might indeed have proof, but which would never pass for crimes before any judges, but such as were parties at the same time.

In the king's first speech from the throne, all the inflaming hints were given, and all the methods of violence were chalked out to the two houses. The first steps in both were perfectly answerable: and to the shame of the peerage be it spoken, I saw at that time several lords concur to condemn, in one general vote, all that they had approved of in a former parliament by many particular resolutions. Among several bloody resolutions proposed and agitated at this time, the resolution of impeaching me of high treason was taken: and I took that of leaving England, not in a panic terrour improved by the artifices of the

duke of Marlborough, whom I knew even at that time too well to act by his advice or information in any case, but on such grounds as the proceedings which soon followed sufficiently justified, and as I have never repented building upon. Those who blamed it in the first heat were soon after obliged to change their language; for what other resolution could I take? The method of prosecution designed against me would have put me immediately out of condition to act for myself, or to serve those who were less exposed than me, but who were, however, in danger. On the other hand, how few were there on whose assistance I could depend, or to whom I would, even in those circumstances, be obliged? The ferment in the nation was wrought up to a considerable height; but there was at that time no reason to expect, that it would influence the proceedings in parliament in favour of those who should be accused. Left to it's own movement, it was much more proper to quicken than slacken the prosecutions: and who was there to guide it's motions? The tories who had been true to one another to the last were a handful, and no great vigour could be expected from them. The whimsicals, disappointed of the figure which they hoped to make, began, indeed, to join their old friends. One * of the principal among them was so very good as to confess to me, that if the court had called the servants of the late Queen to account, and had

* Earl of Anglesey. I told the fact to the bishop of Rochester that night or the next day.

stopped

stopped there, he must have considered himself as a judge, and have acted according to his conscience on what should have appeared to him: but that war had been declared to the whole tory party, and that now the state of things was altered. This discourse needed no commentary, and proved to me, that I had never erred in the judgment I made of this set of men. Could I then resolve to be obliged to them, or to suffer with Oxford? As much as I still was heated by the disputes in which I had been all my life engaged against the whigs, I would sooner have chose to owe my security to their indulgence, than to the assistance of the whimsicals: but I thought banishment, with all her train of evils, preferable to either. I abhorred Oxford to that degree, that I could not bear to be joined with him in any case. Nothing perhaps contributed so much to determine me as this sentiment. A sense of honour would not have permitted me to distinguish between his case and mine own: and it was worse than death to lie under the necessity of making them the same, and of taking measures in concert with him.

I am now come to the time at which I left England, and have finished the first part of that deduction of facts, which I proposed to lay before you. I am hopeful, that you will not think it altogether tedious or unnecessary: for although very little of what I have said can be new to you, yet this summary account will enable you with greater ease to recal to your memory the passages

of

of those four years, wherewith all that I am going to relate to you has an immediate and necessary connexion.

In what has been said I am far from making my own panegyric. I had not in those days so much merit as was ascribed to me: nor since that time have I had so little as the same persons allowed me. I committed, without dispute, many faults; and a greater man than I can pretend to be, constituted in the same circumstances, would not have kept clear of all: but with respect to the tories I committed none. I carried the point of party-honour to the height, and sacrificed every thing to my attachment to them during this period of time. Let us now examine whether I have done so during the rest.

When I arrived in France, about the end of March one thousand seven hundred and fifteen, the affairs of England were represented to me in another light than I had seen them in, when I looked upon them with my own eyes very few weeks before. I found the persons, who were detached to speak with me, prepared to think that I came over to negotiate for the pretender: and when they perceived that I was more ignorant than they imagined, I was assured by them, that there would be suddenly a universal rising in England and Scotland. The leaders were named to me, their engagements specified, and many gentlemen, yourself among others, were reckoned upon for particular services, though I was certain you had never been treated with. From whence I concluded,

concluded, and the event has justified my opinion, that these assurances had been given on the general characters of men, by such of our friends as had embarked sooner, and gone farther than the rest.

This management surprised me extremely. In the answers I made, I endeavoured to set the mistake right: to show that things were far from the point of maturity imagined; that the Chevalier had yet no party for him, and that nothing could form one but the extreme violence which the whigs threatened to exercise. Great endeavours were used to engage me in this affair, and to prevail on me to answer the letter of invitation sent me from Bar. I alleged, as it was true, that I had no commission from any person in England, and that the friends I left behind me were the only persons who could determine me, if any could, to take such a step. As to the last proposition, I absolutely refused it.

In the uncertainty of what would happen, whether the prosecutions would be pushed, which was most probable, in the manner intended against me, and against others, for all of whom, except the earl of Oxford, I had as much concern as for myself; or whether the whigs would relent, drop some, and soften the fate of others; I resolved to conduct myself so as to create no appearance which might be strained into a pretence for hard usage, and which might be retorted on my friends when they debated for me, or when they defended themselves. I saw the earl of Stair, I promised him

him that I would enter into no jacobite engagements, and I kept my word with him. I writ a letter to Mr. secretary Stanhope, which might take off any imputation of neglect of the government; and I retired into Dauphiné, to remove the objection of residence near the court of France.

This retreat from Paris was censured in England, and styled a desertion of my friends and of their cause: with what foundation let any reasonable man determine. Had I engaged with the pretender before the party acted for him, or required of me that I should do so, I had taken the air of being his man; whereas I looked on myself as theirs: I had gone about to bring them into his measures; whereas I never intended, even since that time, to do any thing more than to make him as far as possible act conformably to their views.

During the short time I continued on the banks of the Rhone, the prosecutions were carrried on at Westminster with the utmost violence, and the ferment among the people was risen to such a degree, that it could end in nothing better, it might have ended in something worse, than it did. The measures which I observed at Paris had turned to no account; on the contrary, the letter which I writ to Mr. secretary Stanhope was quoted as a base and fawning submission: and what I intended as a mark of respect to the government, and a service to my friends, was perverted to ruin me in the opinion of the latter.

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The act of attainder, in consequence of my impeachment, had passed against me, for crimes of the blackest dye: and among other inducements to pass it, my having been engaged in the pretender's interest was one. How well founded this article was has already appeared; I was just as guilty of the rest. The correspondence with me was, you know, neither frequent nor safe. I heard seldom and darkly from you, and though I saw well enough which way the current ran, yet I was entirely ignorant of the measures you took, and of the use you intended to make of me. I contented myself, therefore, with letting you all know, that you had but to command me, and that I was ready to venture in your service the little which remained, as frankly as I had exposed all which was gone. At last your commands came, and I shall show you in what manner I executed them.

The person who was sent to me arrived in the beginning of July one thousand seven hundred and fifteen at the place where I was. He spoke in the name of all the friends whose authority could influence me, and he brought me word that Scotland was not only ready to take arms, but under some sort of dissatisfaction to be withheld from beginning; that in England the people were exasperated against the government to such a degree, that far from wanting to be encouraged, they could not be restrained from insulting it on every occasion; that the whole tory party was become avowedly jacobite; that many officers of the

the army, and the majority of the soldiers, were very well affected to the cause; that the city of London was ready to rise, and that the enterprises for seizing of several places were ripe for execution: in a word, that most of the principal tories were in a concert with the duke of Ormond, for I had pressed particularly to be informed whether his grace acted alone, or if not, who were his council; and that the others were so disposed, that there remained no doubt of their joining as soon as the first blow should be struck. He added, that my friends were a little surprised to observe, that I lay neuter in such a conjuncture. He represented to me the danger I ran of being prevented by people of all sides from having the merit of engaging early in this enterprise; and how unaccountable it would be for a man impeached and attainted under the present government, to take no share in bringing about a revolution so near at hand and so certain. He entreated that I would defer no longer to join the Chevalier; to advise and assist in carrying on his affairs, and to solicit and negotiate at the court of France, where my friends imagined that I should not fail to meet with a favourable reception, and from whence they made no doubt of receiving assistance in a situation of affairs so critical, so unexpected, and so promising. He concluded by giving me a letter from the pretender, whom he had seen in his way to me, in which I was pressed to repair without loss of time to Commercy: and this instance was grounded on the message which the

bearer of the letter had brought me from my friends in England. Since he was sent to me, it had been more proper to have come directly where I was: but he was in haste to make his own court, and to deliver the assurances which were entrusted to him. Perhaps too, he imagined that he should tie the knot faster on me by acquainting me, that my friends had actually engaged for themselves and me, than by barely telling me that they desired I would engage for myself and them.

In the progress of the conversation he related a multitude of facts, which satisfied me as to the general disposition of the people; but he gave me little satisfaction as to the measures taken for improving this disposition; for driving the business on with vigour if it tended to a revolution, or for supporting it with advantage if it spun into a war. When I questioned him concerning several persons, whose disinclination to the government admitted of no doubt, and whose names, quality, and experience were very essential to the success of the undertaking, he owned to me, that they kept a great reserve, and did at most but encourage others to act, by general and dark expressions.

I received this account and this summons ill in my bed: yet important as the matter was, a few minutes served to determine me. The circumstances wanting to form a reasonable inducement to engage did not escape me. But the smart of a bill of attainder tingled in every vein: and I looked

looked on my party to be under oppression, and to call for my assistance. Beside which I considered first that I should certainly be informed, when I conferred with the Chevalier, of many particulars unknown to this gentleman; for I did not imagine that you could be so near to take arms, as he represented you to be, on no other foundation than that which he exposed: and secondly, that I was obliged in honour to declare, without waiting for a more particular information of what might be expected from England; since my friends had taken their resolution to declare, without any previous assurance of what might be expected from France. This second motive weighed extremely with me at that time: there is however more sound than sense in it, and it contains the original errour, to which all your subsequent errours, and the thread of misfortunes which followed, are to be ascribed.

My resolution thus taken, I lost no time in repairing to Commercy. The very first conversations with the Chevalier answered in no degree my expectations: and I assure you with great truth, that I began even then, if not to repent of my own rashness, yet to be fully convinced both of yours and mine.

He talked to me like a man who expected every moment to set out for England or Scotland, but who did not very well know for which: and when he entered into the particulars of his affairs, I found that concerning the former he had nothing more circumstantial nor positive to go upon, than

than what I had already heard. The advices which were sent from thence contained such assurances of success, as it was hard to think that men, who did not go upon the surest grounds, would presume to give. But then these assurances were general, and the authority seldom satisfactory. Those which came from the best hand were verbal, and often conveyed by very doubtful messengers; others came from men whose fortunes were as desperate as their councils; and others came from persons whose situation in the world gave little reason to attend to their judgment in matters of this kind.

The duke of Ormond had been for some time, I cannot say how long, engaged with the Chevalier. He had taken the direction of this whole affair, as far as it related to England, upon himself, and had received a commission for this purpose, which contained the most ample powers that could be given. After this one would be apt to imagine, that the principles on which the pretender should proceed, and the tories engage in this service, had been laid down; that a regular and certain method of correspondence had been established; that the necessary assistances had been specified, and that positive assurances had been given of them. Nothing less. In a matter as serious as this, all was loose and abandoned to the disposition of fortune. The first point had never been touched upon. By what I have said above you see how little care was taken of the second: and as to the third, the duke had

asked a small body of regular forces, a sum of money, and a quantity of arms and ammunition. He had been told in answer by the court of France, that he must absolutely despair of any number of troops whatever, but he had been made in general to hope for some money, some arms, and some ammunition: a little sum had, I think, been advanced to him. In a case so plain as this, it is hard to conceive how any man could err. The assistances demanded from France at this time, and even greater than these, will appear, in the sequel of this relation, by the sense of the whole party to have been deemed essentially necessary to success. In such an uncertainty therefore whether even these could be obtained, or rather with so much reason to apprehend that they could not, it was evident that the tories ought to have lain still. They might have helped the ferment against the government, but should have avoided with the utmost care the giving any alarm, or even suspicion of their true design, and have resumed or not resumed it, as the Chevalier was able or not able to provide the troops, the arms, the money, &c. Instead of which those who were at the head of the undertaking, and therefore answerable for the measures which were pursued, suffered the business to jog merrily on. They knew in general how little dependence was to be placed on foreign succour, but acted as if they had been sure of it: while the party were rendered sanguine by their passions, and made no doubt of subverting a government they were angry

angry with, both one and the other made as much bustle, and gave as great alarm as would have been imprudent even at the eve of a general insurrection. This appeared to me to be the state of things with respect to England, when I arrived at Commercy.

The Scots had long pressed the Chevalier to come among them, and had of late sent frequent messages to quicken his departure, some of which were delivered in terms much more zealous than respectful. The truth is, they seemed in as much haste to begin, as if they had thought themselves able to do the work alone; as if they had been apprehensive of no danger but that of seeing it taken out of their hands, and of having the honour of it shared by others. However, that which was wanting on the part of England was not wanting in Scotland: the Scots talked aloud, but they were in a condition to rise. They took little care to keep their intentions secret, but they were disposed to put those intentions into immediate execution, and thereby to render the secret no longer necessary. They knew upon whom to depend for every part of the work, and they had concerted with the Chevalier even to the place of his landing.

There was need of no great sagacity to perceive how unequal such foundations were to the weight of the building designed to be raised on them. The Scots with all their zeal and all their valour could bring no revolution about, unless in concurrence with the English: and among the

latter nothing was ripe for such an undertaking but the temper of the people, if that was so. I thought therefore, that the pretender's friends in the north should be kept from rising, till those in the south had put themselves in a condition to act; and that in the mean while, the utmost endeavours ought to be used with the king of France to espouse the cause; and that a plan of the design, with a more particular specification of the succours desired, as well as of the time when, and the place to which they should be conveyed, ought to be writ for: all which, I was told by the marshal of Berwick, who had the principal direction at that time of these affairs in France, and I dare say very truly, had been often asked but never sent. I looked on this enterprise to be of the nature of those which can hardly be undertaken more than once; and I judged that the success of it would depend on timeing, as near as possible together, the insurrection in both parts of the island, and the succours from hence. The pretender approved this opinion of mine. He instructed me accordingly: and I left Lorrain after having accepted the seals much against my inclination. I made one condition with him. It was this: that I should be at liberty to quit a station which my humour and many other considerations made me think myself very unfit for, whenever the occasion upon which I engaged was over, one way or other: and I desire you to remember that I did so.

I arrived

I arrived at Paris towards the end of July one thousand seven hundred and fifteen. You will observe that all I was charged with, and all by consequence that I am answerable for, was to solicit this court, and to dispose them to grant us the succours necessary to make the attempt, as soon as we should know certainly from England in what it was desired that these succours should consist, and whither they should be sent. Here I found a multitude of people at work, and every one doing what seemed good in his own eyes: no subordination, no order, no concert. Persons, concerned in the management of these affairs upon former occasions, have assured me this is always the case. It might be so to some degree; but I believe never so much as now. The jacobites had wrought one another up to look on the success of the present designs as infallible. Every meeting-house which the populace demolished, every little drunken riot which happened, served to confirm them in these sanguine expectations: and there was hardly one among them, who would lose the air of contributing by his intrigues to the restoration, which he took it for granted would be brought about without him in a very few weeks.

Care and hope sat on every busy Irish face. Those who could write and read had letters to show, and those who had not arrived to this pitch of erudition had their secrets to whisper. No sex was excluded from this ministry. Fanny Oglethorp, whom you must have seen in England,

kept her corner in it, and Olive Trant was the great wheel of our machine.

I imagine that this picture, the lines of which are not in the least too strong, would serve to represent what passed on your side of the water at the same time. The letters which came from thence seemed to me to contain rather such things as the writers wished might be true, than such as they knew to be so; and the accounts which were sent from hence were of the same kind. The vanity of some, and the credulity of others, supported this ridiculous correspondence; and I question not but very many persons, some such I have known, did the same thing from a principle which they took to be a very wise one: they imagined that they helped by these means to maintain and to increase the spirit of the party in England and France. They acted like Thoas, that turbulent Ætolian, who brought Antiochus into Greece: "quibus mendaciis de rege, mul-"tiplicando verbis copias ejus, erexerat multo-"rum in Græcia animos; iisdem & regis spem "inflabat, omnium votis eum arcessi." Thus were numbers of people employed under a notion of advancing the business, or from an affectation of importance, in amusing and flattering one another, and in sounding the alarm in the ears of an enemy, whom it was their interest to surprise. The government of England was put on it's guard: and the necessity of acting, or of laying aside with some disadvantage all thoughts of acting for the present, was precipitated before

any

any measures necessary to enable you to act had been prepared or almost thought of.

If his majesty did not, till some short time after this, declare the intended invasion to parliament, it was not for want of information. Before I came to Paris, what was doing had been discovered. The little armament made at the Havre, which furnished the only means the Chevalier then had for his transportation into Britain, which had exhausted the treasury of St. Germains, and which contained all the arms and ammunition that could be depended upon for the whole undertaking, though they were hardly sufficient to begin the work even in Scotland, was talked of publickly. A minister less alert and less capable than the earl of Stair would easily have been at the bottom of the secret; for so it was called, when the particulars of messages received and sent, the names of the persons from whom they came, and by whom they were carried, were whispered about at tea-tables and in coffee-houses.

In short; what by the indiscretion of people here, what by the rebound which came often back from London, what by the private interests and ambitious views of persons in the French court, and what by other causes unnecessary to be examined now, the most private transactions came to light: and they who imagined that they trusted their heads to the keeping of one or two friends, were in reality at the mercy of numbers. Into such company was I fallen, for my sins:

and it is upon the credit of such a mob-ministry, that the tories have judged me capable of betraying a trust, or incapable of discharging it.

I had made very little progress in the business which brought me to Paris, when the paper so long expected was sent, in pursuance of former instances, from England. The unanimous sense of the principal persons engaged was contained in it. The whole had been dictated word for word to the gentleman who brought it over by the earl of Mar, and it had been delivered to him by the duke of Ormond. I was driving in the wide ocean without a compass, when this dropped unexpectedly into my hands. I received it joyfully, and I steered my course exactly by it. Whether the persons from whom it came pursued the principles, and observed the rules which they laid down as the measures of their own conduct and of ours, will appear by the sequel of this relation.

This memorial asserted, that there were no hopes of succeeding in a present undertaking, for many reasons deduced in it, without an immediate and universal rising of the people in all parts of England upon the Chevalier's arrival; and that this insurrection was in no degree probable unless he brought a body of regular troops along with him: that if this attempt miscarried, his cause and his friends, the English liberty and government, would be utterly ruined: but if by coming without troops he resolved to risk these and every thing else, he must set out so as not to

arrive before the end of September, O. S., to justify which opinion many arguments were urged. In this case twenty thousand arms, a train of artillery, five hundred officers with their servants, and a considerable sum of money were demanded: and as soon as they should be informed, that the Chevalier was in condition to make this provision, it was said that notice should be given him of the places to which he might send, and of the persons who were to be trusted. I do not mention some inconveniencies which they touched upon arising from a delay. Because their opinion was clearly for this delay, and because they could not suppose that the Chevalier would act, or that those about him would advise him to act, contrary to the sense of all his friends in England. No time was lost in making the proper use of this paper. As much of it as was fit to be shown to this court was translated into French, and laid before the king of France. I was now able to speak with greater assurance, and in some sort to undertake conditionally for the event of things.

The proposal of violating treaties so lately and so solemnly concluded was a very bold one to be made to people, whatever their inclinations might be, whom the war had reduced to the lowest ebb of riches and power. They would not hear of a direct and open engagement, such as the sending a body of troops would have been, neither would they grant the whole of what was asked in the second plan. But it was impossible for

for them or any one else to foresee how far those steps which they were willing to take, well improved, might have encouraged or forced them to go. They granted us some succours, and the very ship in which the pretender was to transport himself was fitted out by Depine d'Anicant at the king of France's expense. They would have concealed these appearances as much as they could; but the heat of the whigs and the resentment of the court of England might have drawn them in. We should have been glad indirectly to concur in fixing these things upon them: and in a word, if the late king had lived six months longer, I verily believe there had been war again between England and France. This was the only point of time when these affairs had, to my apprehension, the least reasonable appearance even of possibility: all that preceded was wild and uncertain: all that followed was mad and desperate. But this favourable aspect had an extreme short duration. Two events soon happened, one of which cast a damp on all we were doing, and the other rendered vain and fruitless all we had done. The first was the arrival of the duke of Ormond in France, the other was the death of the king.

We had sounded the duke's name high. His reputation and the opinion of his power were great. The French began to believe, that he was able to form and to head a party; that the troops would join him; that the nation would follow the signal whenever he drew his sword; and

and the voice of the people, the echo of which was continually in their ears, confirmed them in this belief. But when in the midst of all these bright ideas they saw him arrive, almost literally alone, when to excuse his coming, I was obliged to tell them, that he could not stay; they sunk at once from their hopes: and that which generally happens happened in this case; because they had had too good an opinion of the cause, they began to form too bad a one. Before this time, if they had no friendship for the tories, they had at least some consideration and esteem. After this, I saw nothing but compassion in the best of them, and contempt in the others.

When I arrived at Paris, the king was already gone to Marly, where the indisposition which he had begun to feel at Versailles increased upon him. He was the best friend the Chevalier had: and when I engaged in this business, my principal dependence was on his personal character. This failed me to a great degree: he was not in a condition to exert the same vigour as formerly. The ministers who saw so great an event as his death to be probably at hand, a certain minority, an uncertain regency, perhaps confusion, at best a new face of government and a new system of affairs, would not, for their own sakes, as well as for the sake of the publick, venture to engage far in any new measures. All I had to negotiate by myself first, and in conjunction with the duke of Ormond soon afterward, languished with the king. My hopes sunk as he declined, and died when

when he expired. The event of things has sufficiently shown, that all those which were entertained by the duke and the jacobite party under the regency were founded on the grossest delusions imaginable. Thus was the project become impracticable before the time arrived, which was fixed by those who directed things in England, for putting it in execution.

The new government of France appeared to me like a strange country; I was little acquainted with the roads. Most of the faces I met with were unknown to me, and I hardly understood the language of the people. Of the men who had been in power under the late reign, many were discarded, and most of the others were too much taken up with the thoughts of securing themselves under this, to receive applications in favour of the pretender. The two men who had the greatest appearance of favour and power were d'Aguesssau and Noailles. One was made chancellor, on the death of Voisin, from attorney general; and the other was placed at the head of the treasury. The first passes for a man of parts, but he never acted out of the sphere of the law: I had no acquaintance with him before this time; and when you consider his circumstances and mine, you will not think it could be very easy for me to get access to him now. The latter I had known extremely well while the late king lived: and from the same court principle, as he was glad to be well with me then, he would hardly know me now. The minister* who had the

* M. d'Huxelles.

the principal direction of foreign affairs I lived in friendship with, and I must own to his honour, that he never encouraged a design, which he knew that his court had no intention of supporting.

There were other persons, not to tire you with farther particulars upon this head, of credit and influence, with whom I found indirect and private ways of conversing: but it was in vain to expect any more than civil language from them, in a case which they found no disposition in their master to countenance, and in favour of which they had no prejudices of their own. The private engagements into which the duke of Orleans had entered with his majesty, during the life of the late king, will abate of their force as the regent grows into strength, and would soon have had no force at all, if the pretender had met with success: but in these beginnings they operated very strongly. The air of this court was to take the counterpart of all which had been thought right under Lewis the fourteenth. "Cela ressemble "trop à l'ancien système," was an answer so often given, that it became a jest, and almost a proverb. But to finish this account with a fact which is incredible, but strictly true; the very peace, which had saved France from ruin, and the makers of it, were become as unpopular at this court, as at the court of Vienna.

The duke of Ormond flattered himself in this state of things, that he had opened a private and sure channel of arriving at the regent, and of bending

bending him to his purposes. His grace and I lived together at this time in a house which one of my friends had lent me. I observed that he was frequently lost, and that he made continual excursions out of town, with all the mysterious precaution imaginable. I doubted at first, whether these intrigues related to business or pleasure. I soon discovered with whom they were carried on, and had reason to believe that both were mingled in them. It is necessary that I explain this secret to you.

Mrs. Trant, whom I have named above, had been preparing herself for the retired abstemious life of a carmelite*, by taking a surfeit of the pleasures of Paris; when a little before the death of the queen, or about that time, she went into England. What she was entrusted, either by the Chevalier, or any other person, to negotiate there, I am ignorant of, and it imports not much to know. In that journey she made or renewed an acquaintance with the duke of Ormond. The scandalous chronicle affirms, that she brought with her, when she returned into France, a woman, of whom I have not the least knowledge, but who was probably handsome; since without beauty such a merchandise would not have been saleable, nor have answered the design of the importer: and that she made this way her

* She used to pretend a resolution of turning nun. She is since married to the duke of Bouillon's brother, who was too much dishonoured by his former life, to be so even by this scandalous match.

court

court to the regent. Whatever her merit was she kept a correspondence with him, and put herself upon that foot of familiarity, which he permits all those who contribute to his pleasures to assume. She was placed by him, as she told me herself, where I found her some time after that which I am speaking of, in the house of an ancient gentlewoman, who had formerly been maid of honour to Madame, and who had contracted at court a spirit of intrigue, which accompanied her in her retreat.

These two had associated to them the abbé de Tesieu, in all the political parts of their business; for I will not suppose that so reverend an ecclesiastic entered into any other secret. This abbé is the regent's secretary: and it was chiefly through him that the private treaty had been carried on between his master and the earl of Stair in the king's reign. Whether the priest had stooped at the lure of a cardinal's hat, or whether he acted the second part by the same orders that he acted the first, I know not. This is sure, and the British minister was not the bubble of it, that while he concerted measures on one hand to traverse the pretender's designs, he testified on the other all the inclination possible to his service. A mad fellow, who had been an intendant in Normandy, and several other politicians of the lowest form, were at different times taken into this famous junto.

With these worthy people his grace of Ormond negotiated, and no care was omitted on his part

to

to keep me out of the secret. The reason of which, as far as I am able to guess at, shall be explained to you by and by. I might very justly have taken this proceeding ill, and the duke will not be able to find in my whole conduct towards him any thing like it: I protest to you very sincerely I was not in the least moved at it.

He advanced not a step in his business with these sham ministers, and yet imagined that he got daily ground. I made no progress with the true ones, but I saw it. These, however, were not our only difficulties. We lay under another, which came from your side, and which embarrassed us more. The first hindered us from working forward to our point of view, but the second took all point of view from us.

A paper was sent into England just before the death of the king of France, which had been drawn by me at Chaville in concert with the dukes of Ormond and Berwick, and with monsieur de Torcy. This paper was an answer to the memorial received from thence. The state of this country was truly represented in it: the difference was fixed between what had been asked, and what might be expected from France, and upon the whole it was demanded what our friends would do, and what they would have us to do? The reply to this came through the French secretary of state to our hands. They declared themselves unable to say any thing, till they should see what turn affairs would take on so great an event as the death of the king, the report of which had reached them.

Such

Such a declaration shut our mouths and tied our hands. I confess I knew neither how to solicit, nor what to solicit; this last message suspending the project on which we had acted before, and which I kept as an instruction constantly before my eyes. It seemed to me uncertain, whether you intended to go on, or whether your design was to stifle as much as possible all past transactions; to lie perfectly still; to throw upon the court the odium of having given a false alarm, and to wait till new accidents at home, and a more favourable conjuncture abroad, might tempt you to resume the enterprise. Perhaps this would have been the wisest game you could have played; but then, you should have concerted it with us who acted for you here. You intended no such thing, as appeared afterward: and therefore, those who acted for the party at London, whoever they were, must be deemed inexcusable for leaving things on the foot of this message, and giving us no advice fit to be depended upon for many weeks. While preparations were to be made, and the work was to be set a going by assistance from hence, you might reasonably expect to hear from us, and to be determined by us: but when all hopes of this kind seemed to be gone, it was your part to determine us, and we could take no resolution here, but that of conforming ourselves to whatever should come prescribed from England.

While we were in this condition, the most desperate that can be imagined, we began to

receive verbal messages from you, that no more time was to be lost, and that the Chevalier should come away. No man was, I believe, ever so embarrassed as I found myself at that time. I could not imagine that you would content yourselves by loose verbal messages, after all that had happened, to call us over, and I know by experience how little such messages are to be depended on. For soon after I engaged in these affairs, a monk arrived at Bar, dispatched, as he affirmed, by the duke of Ormond, in whose name he insisted, that the Chevalier should hasten into Britain, and that nothing but his presence was wanting to place the crown on his head. The fellow delivered his errand so positively, and so circumstantially, that the resolution was taken at Bar to set out, and my rendezvous to join the Chevalier was appointed me. This method to fetch a king with as little ceremony as one would invite a friend to supper, appeared somewhat odd to me, who was then very new in these affairs. But when I came to talk with the man, for by good luck he had been sent for from Bar to Paris, I easily discerned, that he had no such commission as he pretended to, and that he acted of his own head. I presumed to oppose the taking any resolution upon his word, though he was a monk; and soon after we knew from the duke of Ormond himself, that he had never sent him.

This example made me cautious; but that which determined my opinion was, that I could never imagine, without supposing you all run mad,

mad, that the same men who judged this attempt unripe for execution, unless supported by regular troops from France, or at least by all the other assistances which are enumerated above, while the design was much more secret than at present, when the king had no fleet at sea, nor more than eight thousand men dispersed over the whole island, when we had the good wishes of the French court on our side, and were sure of some particular assistances, and of a general connivance; that the same men, I say, should press for making it now without any other preparation, when we had neither money, arms, ammunition, nor a single company of foot, when the government of England was on it's guard, national troops were raised, foreign forces sent for, and France, like all the rest of the Continent, against us. I could not conceive such a strange combination of accidents as should make the necessity of acting increase gradually upon us, as the means of doing so were taken from us.

Upon the whole matter, my opinion was, and I did not observe the duke of Ormond to differ from me, that we should wait till we heard from you, in such a manner as might assure us of what you intended to do yourselves, and of what you expected from us, and that in the meanwhile we should go as far as the little money which we had, and the little favour which was shown us would allow, in getting some embarkations ready on the coast.

Sir George Byng had come into the road of

Havre, and had demanded by name several ships which belonged to us, to be given up to him. The regent did not think fit to let him have the ships; but he ordered them to be unloaded, and their cargoes were put into the king's magazines. We were in no condition to repair the loss; and therefore, when I mention embarkations, you will please to understand nothing more than vessels to transport the pretender's person, and the persons of those who should go over with him. This was all we could do, and this was not neglected.

We were thus employed, when a gentleman arrived from Scotland to represent the state of that country, and to require a definitive answer from the Chevalier, whether he would have the insurrection to be made immediately, which they apprehended they might not be able to make at all, if they were obliged to defer it much longer. This gentleman was sent instantly back again, and was directed to let the persons he came from know, that the Chevalier was desirous to have the rising of his friends in England and Scotland so adjusted, that they might mutually assist each other, and distract the enemy; that he had not received a final answer from his friends in England, but that he was in daily expectation of it; that it was very much to be wished, that all attempts in Scotland could be suspended till such time as the English were ready; but that if the Scots were so pressed, that they must either submit or rise immediately, he was of opinion they

should

should rise, and he would make the best of his way to them.

What this forwardness in the Scots, and this uncertainty and backwardness in the English must produce, it was not hard to foresee; and therefore, that I might neglect nothing in my power to prevent any false measures, as I was conscious to myself that I had neglected nothing to promote true ones, I dispatched a gentleman to London, where I supposed the earl of Mar to be, some days before the message I have just spoken of was sent to Scotland. I desired him to make my compliments to lord Mar, and to tell him from me, that I understood it to be his sense, as well as the sense of all our friends, that Scotland could do nothing effectually without the concurrence of England, and that England would not stir without assistance from abroad: that he might assure himself no such assistance could be depended upon, and that I begged of him to make the inference from these propositions. The gentleman went, but upon his arrival at London, he found that the earl of Mar was already set out to draw the Highlanders into arms. He communicated his message to a person* of confidence, who undertook to send it after his lordship, and this was the utmost which either he or I could do in such a conjuncture.

You were now visibly departed from the very scheme which you had sent us over, and from all the principles which had been ever laid down. I

* Mr. Lewis, who belonged to the earl of Oxford.

did what I could to keep up my own spirit, as well as the spirits of the Chevalier, and of all those with whom I was in correspondence: I endeavoured even to deceive myself. I could not remedy the mischief, and I was resolved to see the conclusion of the perilous adventure. But I own to you, that I thought then, and that I have not changed my opinion since, that such measures as these would not be pursued, by any reasonable man, in the most common affairs of life. It was with the utmost astonishment that I saw them pursued, in the conduct of an enterprise which had for it's object nothing less than the disposition of crowns, and for the means of bringing it about nothing less than a civil war.

Impatient that we heard nothing from England, when we expected every moment to hear that the war was begun in Scotland; the duke of Ormond and I resolved to send a person* of confidence to London. We instructed him to repeat to you the former accounts, which we had sent over, to let you know how destitute the Chevalier was, either of actual support, or even of reasonable hopes, and to desire that you would determine whether he should go to Scotland, or throw himself on some part of the English coast. This person was farther instructed to tell you, that the Chevalier being ready to take any resolution at a moment's warning, you might depend on his setting out the instant he received your answer; and therefore, that to save time, if your intention

* Mr. Ezekiel Hamilton: he got all the papers by heart.

was

was to rise, you would do well to act immediately, on the assurance that the plan you prescribed, be it what it would, should be exactly complied with. We took this resolution the rather, because one of the pacquets which had been prepared in cipher, to give you an account of things, which had been put above three weeks before into monsieur de Torcy's hands, and which by consequence we thought to be in yours, was by this time sent back to me by this minister, I think open, with an excuse that he durst not take upon him to forward it.

The person dispatched to London returned very soon to us, and the answer he brought was*, that since affairs grew daily worse, and could not mend by delay, our friends in England had resolved to declare immediately, and that they would be ready to join the Chevalier on his landing: that his person would be as safe there as in Scotland, and that in every other respect, it was better that he should land in England; that they had used their utmost endeavours, and that they hoped the western counties were in a good posture to receive him. To this was added, a general indication of the place he should come to, as near to Plymouth as possible.

You must agree, that this was not the answer of men who knew what they were about. A little more precision was necessary in dictating a message, which was to have such consequences: and

* Lansdown gave this answer in the name of all the persons privy to the secret.

especially since the gentleman could not fail to acquaint the persons he spoke with, that the Chevalier was not able to carry men enough to secure him from being taken up, even by the first constable. Notwithstanding this, the duke of Ormond set out from Paris, and the Chevalier from Bar. Some persons were sent to the north of England, and others to London, to give notice that they were both on their way. Their routes were so ordered, that the duke of Ormond was to sail from the coast of Normandy some days before the Chevalier arrived at St. Malo, to which place the duke was to send immediate notice of his landing; and two gentlemen acquainted with the country, and perfectly well known to all our friends in those parts, were dispatched before, that the people of Devonshire and Somersetshire, who were, we concluded, in arms, might be apprised of the signals which were to be made from the ships, and might be ready to receive the duke.

On the coast of France, and before his embarkation, the duke heard that several of our principal friends had been seized, immediately after the person who came last from them had left London; that the others were all dispersed, and that the consternation was universal. He embarked notwithstanding this melancholy news, and, supported by nothing but the firmness of his temper, he went over to the place appointed: he did more than his part, and he found that our friends had done less than theirs. One of the gentlemen

gentlemen who had passed over before him, and had traversed part of the country, joined him on the coast, and assured him that there was not the least room to expect a rising. In a word, he was refused a night's lodging in a country which we had been told was in a good posture to receive the Chevalier, and where the duke expected that multitudes would repair to him.

He returned to the coast of Britany after this uncomfortable expedition, where the Chevalier arrived about the same time from Lorain. What his grace proposed by the second attempt, which he made as soon as the vessel could be refitted, to land in the same part of the island, I profess myself to be ignorant. I wrote him my opinion at the time, and I have always thought, that the storm in which he had like to have been cast away, and which forced him back to the French coast, saved him from a much greater peril, that of perishing in an attempt as full of extravagant rashness, and as void of all reasonable meaning, as any of those adventures which have rendered the hero of La Mancha immortal.

The Chevalier had now but one of these two things left him to do, one was to return to Bar, the other was to go to Scotland, where there were people in arms for him. He took this last resolution. He left Britany, where he had as many ministers as there were people about him, and where he was eternally teized with noisy disputes about what was to be done, in circumstances in which no reasonable thing could be done. He sent

sent to have a vessel got ready for him at Dunkirk, and he crossed the country as privately as he could.

While all these things passed, I remained at Paris, to try, if by any means some assistance might be at last procured; without which it was evident, even to those who flattered themselves the most, that the game was up.

No sooner was the duke of Ormond gone from Paris, on the design which I have mentioned, and Mrs. Trant, who had accompanied him part of the way, returned, but I was sent for to a little house at Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne, where she lived with mademoiselle de Chaussery, the ancient gentlewoman with whom the duke of Orleans had placed her. These two persons opened to me what had passed while the duke of Ormond was there, and the hopes they had of drawing the regent into all the measures necessary to support the attempts, which were making in favour of the Chevalier.

By what they told me at first, I saw that they had been trusted; and by what passed in the course of my treating with them, it appeared, that they had the access which they pretended to. All which I had been able to do by proper persons and in proper methods, since the king of France's death, amounting to little or nothing, I resolved, at last, to try what was to be done by this indirect way. I put myself under the conduct of these female managers, and without having the same dependence on them as his grace of Ormond had,

had, I pushed their credit and their power as far as they reached, during the time I continued to see them. I met with smoother language and greater hopes than had been given me hitherto. A note signed by the regent, supposed to be wrote to a woman, but which was explained to be intended for the earl of Mar, was put into my hands to be sent to Scotland. I took a copy of it, which you may see at the end of these papers*. When Sir John Areskine came to press for succour, the regent was prevailed upon by these women to see him, but he carried nothing real back with him, except a quantity of gold, part of the money which we had drawn from Spain, and which was lost with the vessel in a very odd manner on the Scotch coast. The duke of Ormond had been promised seven or eight thousand arms, which were drawn out of the magazines, and said to be lodged, I think, at Compeigne. I used my utmost efforts, that these arms might be carried forward to the coast, and I undertook for their transportation: but all was in vain; so that the likelihood of bringing any thing to effect in time appeared to me no greater, than I had found it before I entered into this intrigue.

I soon grew tired of a commerce, which nothing but success could render tolerable, and resolved to be no longer amused by the pretences, which were daily repeated to me, that the regent had entertained personal prejudices against me, and that he was insensibly, and by degrees, to be

* This note has not been found among the author's papers.

dipped

dipped in our measures; that both these things required time, but that they would certainly be brought about, and that we should then be able to answer all the expectations of the English and the Scotch. The first of these pretences contained a fact, which I could hardly persuade myself to be true, because I knew very certainly, that I had never given his royal highness the least occasion for such prejudices: the second was a work which might spin out into a great and uncertain length. I took my resolution to drive what related to myself to an immediate explanation, and what related to others to an immediate decision, not to suffer any excuse for doing nothing to be founded on my conduct, nor the salvation, if I could hinder it, of so many gallant men as were in arms in Scotland, to rest on the success of such womanish projects. I shall tell you what I did on the first head now, and what I did on the second hereafter in it's proper place.

The fact, which it was said the regent laid to my charge, was a correspondence with lord Stair, and having been one night at his house, from whence I did not retire till three in the morning. As soon as I got hold of this, I desired the marshal of Berwick to go to him. The marshal told him from me, that I had been extremely concerned, to hear in general, that I lay under his displeasure; that a story, which it was said he believed, had been related to me; that I expected the justice which he could deny to no man of having the accusation proved, in which case I

was

was contented to pass for the last of human kind, or of being justified if it could not be proved. He answered, that such a story had been related to him by such persons as he thought would not have deceived him; that he had been since convinced, that it was false, and that I should be satisfied of his regard for me: but that he must own he was very uneasy to find, that I, who could apply to him through the marshal d'Huxelles, could choose to treat with Mrs. Trant, and the rest; for he named all the cabal, except his secretary, whom I had never met at mademoiselle Chaussery's. He added, that these people teized him at my instigation, to death, and that they were not fit to be trusted with any business. He applied to some of them the severest epithets. The marshal of Berwick replied, that he was sure I should receive the whole of what he had been pleased to say with the greatest satisfaction; that I had treated with these persons much against my will; and finally, that if his royal highness would not employ them, he was sure I would never apply to them. In a conversation which I had, not long after with him, he spoke to me, in much the same terms as he had done to the marshal. I went from him very ill edified as to his intentions of doing any thing in favour of the Chevalier: but I carried away with me this satisfaction, that he had assigned me, from his own mouth, the person through whom I should make my applications to him, and through whom I should depend on receiving his answers; that he

had disavowed all the little politic clubs, and had commanded me to have no more to do with them.

Before I resume the thread of my narration, give me leave to make some reflection upon what I have been last saying to you. When I met with the duke of Ormond at his return from the coast, he thought himself obliged to say something to excuse his keeping me out of a secret, which during his absence I had been let into. His excuse was, that the regent had exacted from him, that I should know nothing of the matter. You will observe, that the account which I have given you seems to contradict this assertion of his grace, since it is hard to suppose, that if the regent had exacted that I should be kept out of the secret, these women would have dared to have let me into it; and since it is still harder to suppose, that the regent would make this express condition with the duke of Ormond, and the moment the duke's back was turned, would suffer these women to teize him from me, and to bring me answers from him. I am, however, far from taxing the duke with affirming an untruth. I believe the regent did make such a condition with him, and I will tell you how I understand all this little management, which will explain a great deal to you. This prince, with wit and valour, has joined all the irresolution of temper possible, and is, perhaps, the man in the world the least capable of saying no to your face. From hence it happened, that these women, like multi-

tudes

tudes of other people, forced him to say and do enough to give them the air of having credit with him, and of being trusted by him. This drew in the duke of Ormond, who is not, I dare say, as yet undeceived. The regent never intended from the first, to do any thing, even indirectly, in favour of the jacobite cause. His interest was plainly on the other side, and he saw it. But then, the same weakness in his character carried him, as it would have done his great uncle Gaston in the same case, to keep measures with the Chevalier. His double trimming character prevailed on him to talk with the duke of Ormond: but it carried him no farther. I question not but he did on this occasion, what you must have observed many men to do. We not only endeavour to impose on the world, but even on ourselves. We disguise our weakness, and work up in our minds an opinion, that the measure which we fall into by the natural or habitual imperfection of our character, is the effect of a principle of prudence, or of some other virtue. Thus the regent, who saw the duke of Ormond, because he could not resist the importunity of Olive Trant, and who gave hopes to the duke, because he can refuse nobody, made himself believe, that it was a great strain of policy to blow up the fire, and to keep Britain embroiled. I am persuaded that I do not err in judging that he thought in this manner; and here I fix the reason of his excluding me out of the commerce which he had with the duke of Ormond, of his affecting a personal

sonal dislike of me, and of his avoiding any correspondence with me upon these matters; till I forced myself in a manner upon him, and he could not keep me any longer at a distance without departing from his first principle, that of keeping measures with every body. He then threw me, or let me slide, if you will, into the hands of these women, and when he found that I pressed him hard that way too, he took me out of their hands and put me back again into the proper channel of business, where I had not been long, as you will see by and by, before the scene of amusement was finished.

Sir John Areskine told me, when he came from the first audience that he had of his royal highness, that he put him in mind of the encouragement which he had given the earl of Mar to take arms. I never heard any thing of this kind, but what Sir John let drop to me. If the fact be true, you see that the Scotch general had been amused by him with a witness. The English general was so in his turn, and while this was doing, the regent might think it best to have him to himself. Four eyes comprehend more objects than two, and I was a little better acquainted with the characters of people, and the mass of the country, than the duke, though this court had been at first a strange country to me in comparison of the former.

An infinity of little circumstances concurred to make me form this opinion, some of which are better felt than explained, and many of which

are

are not present to my memory. That which had the greatest weight with me, and which is, I think, decisive, I will mention. At the very time when it is pretended, that the regent treated with the duke of Ormond, on the express condition that I should know nothing of the matter; two persons* of the first rank and greatest credit in this court, when I made the most pressing instances to them in favour of the Chevalier, threw out in conversation to me, that I should attach myself to the duke of Orleans, that in my circumstances I might want him, and that he might have occasion for me. Something was intimated of pensions, and establishment, and of making my peace at home. I would not understand this language, because I would not break with the people who held it: and when they saw that I would not take the hints, they ceased to give them.

I fancy that you see by this time the motives of the regent's conduct. I am not, I confess, able to explain to you those of the duke of Ormond's: I cannot so much as guess at them. When he came into France I was careful to show him all the friendship, and all the respect possible. My friends were his, my purse was his, and even my bed was his. I went further, I did all those things which touch most sensibly people who have been used to pomp. I made my court to him, and haunted his levee with assiduity. In return to this behaviour, which was the pure

* Marshal d'Huxelles, marshal d'Effiat: twenty-five thousand pounds offered by the last.

effect of my good will, and which no duty that I owed his grace, no obligation that I had to him, imposed upon me; I have great reason to suspect, that he went at least half way in all that was said or done against me. He threw himself blindly into the snare which was laid for him, and instead of hindering, as he and I, in concert, might have done, those affairs from languishing, in the manner they did several months, he furnished this court with an excuse for not treating with me, till it was too late to play even a saving game; and he neither drove the regent to assist the Chevalier, nor to declare that he would not assist him; though it was fatal to the cause in general, and to the Scotch in particular, not to bring one of the two about.

It was Christmas one thousand seven hundred and fifteen before the Chevalier sailed for Scotland. The battle of Dunblain had been fought, the business of Preston was over: there remained not the least room to expect any commotion in his favour among the English; and many of the Scotch, who had declared for him, began to grow cool in the cause. No prospect of success could engage him in this expedition, but it was become necessary for his reputation. The Scotch on one side spared not to reproach him, I think unjustly, for his delay, and the French on the other were extremely eager to have him gone. Some of those who knew little of British affairs imagined, that his presence would produce miraculous effects. You must not be surprised at this. As

near

near neighbours as we are, ninety-nine in a hundred among the French are as little acquainted with the inside of our island as with that of Japan. Others of them were uneasy to see him skulking about in France, and to be told of it every hour by the earl of Stair. Others again imagined, that he might do their business by going into Scotland, though he should not do his own: that is, they flattered themselves, that he might keep a war for some time alive, which would employ the whole attention of our government; and for the event of which they had very little concern. Unable from their natural temper, as well as their habits, to be true to any principle, they thought and acted in this manner, while they affected the greatest friendship to the king, and while they really did desire to enter into new and more intimate engagements with him. While the pretender continued in France they could neither avow him nor favour his cause: if he once set his foot on Scotch ground, they gave hopes of indirect assistance: and if he could maintain himself in any corner of the island, they could look upon him, it was said, as a king*. This was their language to us. To the British minister they denied, they forswore, they renounced; and yet the man† of the best head in all their councils, being asked by lord Stair what they intended to do, answered before he was

* Discourse of abbé d'Estrees, afterward archbishop of Cambray.

† Mar. d'Huxelles.

aware, that they pretended to be neuters. I leave you to judge, how this slip was taken up.

As soon as I received advice that the Chevalier was sailed from Dunkirk, I renewed, I redoubled all my applications. I neglected no means, I forgot no argument, which my understanding could suggest to me. What the duke of Ormond rested upon, you have seen already; and I doubt very much whether lord Mar, if he had been here in my place, would have been able to employ measures more effectual than those which I made use of. I may, without any imputation of arrogance, compare myself on this occasion with his lordship, since there was nothing in the management of this affair above my degree of capacity; nothing equal, either in extent or difficulty, to the business which he was a spectator of, and which I carried on, when we were secretaries of state together under the late queen.

The king of France, who was not able to furnish the pretender with money himself, had writ some time before his death to his grandson, and had obtained a promise of four hundred thousand crowns from the king of Spain. A small part of this sum had been received by the queen's treasurer at St. Germain's, and had been either sent to Scotland, or employed to defray the expenses which were daily making on the coast. I pressed the Spanish ambassador at Paris, I solicited, by Lawless, Alberoni at Madrid; and I found another * more private and more promising

* Marquis Monti.

way

way of applying to him. I took care to have a number of officers picked out of the Irish troops, which serve in that country; their routes were given them, and I sent a ship to receive and transport them. The money came in so slowly and in such trifling sums, that it turned to little account, and the officers were on their way when the Chevalier returned from Scotland.

In the summer, endeavours had been used to prevail on the king of Sweden to transport from Gottenburg the troops he had in that neighbourhood into Scotland, or into the north of England. He had excused himself, not because he disliked the proposition, which on the contrary he thought agreeable to his interest; but for reasons of another kind. First, because the troops at hand for this service consisted in horse, not in foot which had been asked, and which were alone proper for such an expedition: secondly, because a declaration of this sort might turn the protestant princes of the empire, from whose offices he had still some prospect of assistance, against him: and thirdly, because although he knew that the king of Great Britain was his enemy, yet they were not in war together, nor had the latter acted yet awhile openly enough against him to justify such a rupture. At the time I am speaking of, these reasons were removed by the king of Sweden's being beat out of the empire, by the little consequence which his management of the protestant princes was to him, and by the declaration of war which the king as elector of Hanover made.

I took up this negotiation therefore again. The regent appeared to come into it. He spoke fair to the baron de Spar, who pressed him on his side, as I pressed him on mine, and promised beside the arrears of the subsidy due to the Swedes, an immediate advance of fifty thousand crowns for the enterprise on Britain. He kept the officer who was to be dispatched I know not how long booted; sometimes on pretence, that in the low state of his credit he could not find bills of exchange for the sum, and sometimes on other pretences, and by these delays he evaded his promise. The French were very frank in declaring, that they could give us no money, and that they would give us no troops. Arms, ammunition and connivance, they made us hope for. The latter in some degree we might have had, perhaps; but to what purpose was it to connive, when by a multitude of little tricks they avoided furnishing us with arms and ammunition, and when they knew that we were utterly unable to furnish ourselves with them? I had formed the design of engaging French privateers in the pretender's service. They were to have carried whatever we should have had to send to any part of Britain in their first voyage, and after that, to have cruised under his commission. I had actually agreed for some, and it was in my power to have made the same bargains with others. Sweden on one side, and Scotland on the other, would have afforded them retreats: and if the war had been kept up in any part of the mountains,

tains, I conceive the execution of this design would have been of the greatest advantage to the pretender. It failed, because no other part of the work went on. He was not above six weeks in his Scotch expedition, and these were the things I endeavoured to bring to bear in his absence. I had no great opinion of my success before he went; but when he had made the last step which it was in his power to make, I resolved to suffer neither him nor the Scotch to be any longer bubbles of their own credulity, and of the scandalous artifice of this court. It would be tedious to enter into a longer narrative of all the useless pains I took. To conclude therefore; in a conversation which I had with the M. d'Huxelles, I took occasion to declare, that I would not be the instrument of amusing the Scotch; and that since I was able to do them no service, I would at least inform them, that they must flatter themselves no longer with hopes of succour from France. I added, that I would send them vessels, which with those already on the coast of Scotland, might serve to bring off the pretender, the earl of Mar, and as many others as possible. The marshal approved my resolution, and advised me to execute it as the only thing which was left to do. On this occasion he showed no reserve, he was very explicit, and yet in this very point of time, the promise of an order was obtained, or pretended to be obtained from the regent, for delivering those stores of arms and ammunition which belonged to the Chevalier, and which had

been put into the French magazines, when sir George Byng came to Havre. Castel Blanco is a Spaniard who married a daughter of lord Melford, and who under that title set up for a meddler in English business. I cannot justly tell whether the honour of obtaining this promise was ascribed to him, to the junto in the Bois de Boulogne, or to any one else. I suppose they all assumed a share of the merit. The project was, that these stores should be delivered to Castel Blanco; that he should enter into a recognisance to carry them to Spain, and from thence to the West Indies; that I should provide a vessel for this purpose, which he should appear to hire or buy; and that when she was at sea she should sail directly for Scotland. You cannot believe that I reckoned much on the effect of this order: but accustomed to concur in measures, the inutility of which I saw evidently enough, I concurred in this likewise. The necessary care was taken, and in a fortnight's time the ship was ready to sail, and no suspicion of her belonging to the Chevalier, or of her destination, was gone abroad.

As this event made no alteration in my opinion, it made none in the dispatches which I prepared and sent to Scotland. In them I gave an account of what was in negotiation. I explained to him what might be hoped for in time, if he was able to maintain himself in the mountains without the succours he demanded from France. But from France I told him plainly, that it was in vain to expect the least part of them. In short, I concealed

cealed nothing from him. This was all I could do to put the Chevalier and his council in a condition to judge what measures to take; but these dispatches never came to his hands. He was sailed from Scotland just before the gentleman, whom I sent, arrived on the coast. He landed at Graveline about the twenty-second of February, and the first orders he gave, were to stop all the vessels which were going on his account to the country from whence he came.

I saw him the morning after his arrival at St. Germain's, and he received me with open arms. I had been, as soon as we heard of his return, to acquaint the French court with it. They were not a little uneasy, and the first thing which the M. d'Huxelles said to me upon it was, that the Chevalier ought to proceed to Bar with all the diligence possible, and to take possession of his former asylum, before the duke of Lorrain had time to desire him to look out for a residence somewhere else: nothing more was meaned by this proposal, than to get him out of the dominions of France immediately. I was not in my mind averse to it for other reasons. Nothing could be more disadvantageous to him than to be obliged to pass the Alps, or to reside in the papal territories on this side of them. Avignon was already named for his retreat in common conversation, and I know not whether from the time he left Scotland, he ever thought of any other. I imagined, that by surprising the duke of Lorrain we should furnish that prince with an excuse

to

to the king, and to the emperor; that we might draw the matter into length, and gain time to negotiate some other retreat than that of Avignon for the Chevalier. The duke's good will there was no room to doubt of, and by what the prince of Vaudemont told me at Paris some time afterward, I am apt to think we should have succeeded. In all events it could not be wrong to try every measure, and the pretender would have gone to Avignon with much better grace, when he had done, in the sight of the world, all he could to avoid it.

I found him in no disposition to make such haste: he had a mind, on the contrary, to stay some time at St. Germain's, and in the neighbourhood of Paris, and to have a private meeting with the regent. He sent me back to Paris to solicit the meeting. I wrote, I spoke to the marshal d'Huxelles, I did best to serve him in his own way. The marshal answered me by word of mouth, and by letter. He refused me by both. I remember he added this circumstance, that he found the regent in bed, and acquainted him with what the Chevalier desired; that the regent rose up in a passion, said that the things which were asked were puerilities, and swore that he would not see him. I returned without having been able to succeed in my commission: and I confess I thought the want of success on this occasion no great misfortune.

It was two or three o'clock on the Sunday or Monday morning when I parted from the pretender.

tender. He acquiesced in the determination of the regent, and declared that he would instantly set out for Lorrain: his trunks were packed, his chaise was ordered to be at the door at five, and I sent to Paris to acquaint the minister that he was gone. He asked me how soon I should be able to follow him, gave me commissions for some things, which he desired I should bring after him: and in a word, no Italian ever embraced the man he was going to stab with greater show of affection and confidence.

Instead of taking post for Lorrain, he went to the little house in the Bois de Boulogne, where his female ministers resided; and there he continued lurking for several days, and pleasing himself with the air of mystery and business, while the only real business, which he should have had at that time, lay neglected. He saw the Spanish and Swedish ministers in this place. I cannot tell, for I never thought it worth asking, whether he saw the duke of Orleans: possibly he might. To have been teased into such a step, which signified nothing, and which gave the cabal an air of credit and importance, is agreeable enough to the levity of his royal highness's character.

The Thursday following the duke of Ormond came to see me, and after the compliment of telling me, that he believed I should be surprised at the message he brought, he put into my hands a note to himself, and a little scrip of paper directed to me, and drawn in the style of a justice of peace's warrant. They were both in the Chevalier's

valier's handwriting, and they were dated on the Tuesday, in order to make me believe that they had been writ on the road and sent back to the duke: his grace dropped in our conversation, with great dexterity, all the insinuations proper to confirm me in this opinion. I knew at this time his master was not gone, so that he gave me two very risible scenes, which are frequently to be met with when some people meddle in business; I mean that of seeing a man labour with a great deal of awkward artifice to make a secret of a nothing, and that of seeing yourself taken for a bubble, when you know as much of the matter as he who thinks that he imposes on you.

I cannot recollect precisely the terms of the two papers. I remember that the kingly laconick style of one of them, and the expression of having no farther occasion for my service, made me smile. The other was an order to give up the papers in my office; all which might have been contained in a lettercase of a moderate size. I gave the duke the seals, and some papers which I could readily come at. Some others, and indeed all such as I had not destroyed, I sent afterward to the Chevalier: and I took care to convey to him, by a safe hand, several of his letters, which it would have been very improper the duke should have seen. I am surprised that he did not reflect on the consequence of my obeying his order literally. It depended on me to have shown his general what an opinion the Chevalier had of his capacity. I scorned the trick, and would not

appear

appear piqued, when I was far from being angry. As I gave up, without scruple, all the papers which remained in my hands, because I was determined never to make use of them; so I confess to you, that I took a sort of pride in never asking for those of mine, which were in the pretender's hands: I contented myself with making the duke understand how little need there was to get rid of a man in this manner, who had made the bargain which I had done at my engagement, and with taking this first opportunity to declare, that I would never more have to do with the pretender, or his cause.

That I might avoid being questioned and quoted in the most curious and the most babbling town in the world, I related what had passed to three or four of my friends, and hardly stirred abroad during a fortnight, out of a little lodging which very few people knew of. At the end of this term the marshal of Berwick came to see me, and asked me what I meaned, to confine myself to my chamber, when my name was trumpeted about in all the companies of Paris, and the most infamous stories were spread concerning me. This was the first notice I had, and it was soon followed by others. I appeared immediately in the world, and found there was hardly a scurrilous tongue which had not been let loose on my subject, and that those persons whom the duke of Ormond and earl of Mar must influence, or might silence, were the loudest in defaming me.

Particular instances wherein I had failed were cited;

cited; and as it was the fashion for every jacobite to affect being in the secret, you might have found a multitude of vouchers to facts, which, if they had been true, could in the nature of them be known to very few persons.

This method, of beating down the reputation of a man by noise and impudence, imposed on the world at first, convinced people who were not acquainted with me, and staggered even my friends. But it ceased in a few days to have any effect against me. The malice was too gross to pass upon reflection. These stories died away almost as fast as they were published, for this very reason, because they were particular.

They gave out, for instance, that I had taken to my own use, a very great sum of the Chevalier's money, when it was notorious that I had spent a great sum of my own in his service; and never would be obliged to him for a farthing, in which case, I believe, I was single. Upon this head it was easy to appeal to a very honest gentleman, the queen's treasurer at St. Germains, through whose hands, and not through mine, went the very little money which the Chevalier had.

They gave out, that while he was in Scotland, he never heard from me, though it was notorious that I sent him no less than five expresses during the six weeks, which he consumed in this expedition. It was easy, on this head, to appeal to the persons, to whom my dispatches had been committed.

These lies, and many others of the same sort

which were founded on particular facts, were disproved by particular facts, and had not time, at least at Paris, to make any impression. But the principal crime with which they charged me then, and the only one which since that time they have insisted upon, is of another nature. This part of their accusation is general, and it cannot be refuted without doing what I have done above, deducing several facts, comparing these facts together, and reasoning upon them; nay, that which is worse is, that it cannot be fully refuted without the mention of some facts, which, in my present circumstances, it would not be very prudent, though I should think it very lawful for me, to divulge. You see that I mean the starving the war in Scotland, which it is pretended might have been supported, and might have succeeded too, if I had procured the succours which were asked, nay, if I had sent a little powder. This the jacobites, who affect moderation and candour, shrug their shoulders at: they are sorry for it, but lord Bolingbroke can never wash himself clean of this guilt; for these succours might have been obtained, and a proof that they might is, that they were so by others. These people leave the cause of this management doubtful, between my treachery and my want of capacity. The pretender, with all the false charity and real malice of one who sets up for devotion, attributes all his misfortunes to my negligence.

The letters which were writ by my secretary above a year ago into England, the marginal notes

which

which have been made since to the letter from Avignon, and what is said above, have set this affair in so clear a light, that whoever examines, with a fair intention, must feel the truth, and be convinced by it. I cannot, however, forbear to make some observations on the same subject here. It is even necessary that I should do so, in the design of making this discourse the foundation of my justification to the tories at present, and to the whole world in time.

There is nothing which my enemies apprehend so much as my justification, and they have reason. But they may comfort themselves with this reflection, that it will be a misfortune, which will accompany me to my grave, that I suffered a chain of accidents to draw me into such measures and such company; that I have been obliged to defend myself against such accusations and such accusers; that by associating with so much folly, and so much knavery, I am become the victim of both; that I was distressed by the former, when the latter would have been less grievous to me, since it is much better in business to be yoked to knaves than fools, and that I put into their hands the means of loading me like the scape-goat with all the evil consequences of their folly.

In the first letters which I received from the earl of Mar, he wrote for arms, for ammunition, for money, for officers, and all things, frankly, as if these things had been ready, and I had engaged to supply him with them, before he set up the

standard at the brae of Mar; whereas our condition could not be unknown to his lordship, and you have seen that I did all I could to prevent his reckoning on any assistance from hence. As our hopes at this court decreased, his lordship rose in his demands: and at the time when it was visible that the regent intended nothing less than, even privately and indirectly to support the Scotch, the pretender and the earl of Mar wrote for regular forces and a train of artillery; which was in effect to insist that France should enter into a war for them. I might in answer to the first instances have asked lord Mar, what he did in Scotland; and what he meaned by drawing his countrymen into a war at this time, or at least upon this foot: He who had dictated not long before a memorial, wherein it was asserted, that to have a prospect of succeeding in this enterprise, there must be a universal insurrection, and that such an insurrection was in no sort probable, unless a body of troops was brought to support it: He who thought that the consequence of failing, when the attempt was once made, must be the utter ruin of the cause, and the loss of the British liberty: He who concurred in demanding as a pis-aller, and the least which could be insisted on, arms, ammunition, artillery, money, and officers: I say, I might have asked what he meant to begin the dance, when he had not the least assurance of any succour, but, on the contrary, the greatest reason imaginable to believe this affair was become as desperate abroad by the

death of the most christian king, as it was at home by the discovery of the design, and by the measures taken to defeat it?

Instead of acting this part, which would have been wise, I took that which was plausible. I resolved to contribute all I could to support the business, since it was begun. I encouraged his lordship as long as I had the least ground for doing so, and I confirmed the pretender in his resolution of going to Scotland, when he had nothing better left him to do. If I have any thing to reproach myself with, in the whole progress of the war in Scotland, it is having encouraged lord Mar too long. But on the other hand, if I had given up the cause, and had writ despondingly to him, before this court had explained itself as fully as the marshal d'Huxelles did in the conversation which is mentioned above, it is easy to see what turn would have been given to such a conduct.

The true cause of all the misfortunes which happened to the Scotch, and to those who took arms in the north of England, lies here; that they rose without any previous certainty of foreign help, in direct contradiction to the scheme which their leaders themselves had formed. The excuse which I have heard made for this is, that the act of parliament for curbing the highlanders was near to be put in execution; that they would have been disarmed and entirely disabled from rising at any other time, if they had not rose at this. You can judge better than I of the validity of this

this excuse. It seems to me, that by management they might have gained time, and that even when they had been reduced to the dilemma supposed, they ought to have got together under pretence of resisting the infractions of the union without any mention of the pretender, and have treated with the government on this foot. By these means they might probably have preserved themselves in a condition of avowing their design when they should be sure of being backed from abroad: at the worst they might have declared for the Chevalier when all other expedients failed them. In a word, I take this excuse not to be very good, and the true reason of this conduct to have been the rashness of the people, and the inconsistent measures of their head.

But admitting the excuse to be valid, it remains still an undeniable truth, that this is the original fountain from whence all those waters of bitterness flowed, which so many unhappy people have drunk of. I have said already, that the necessity of acting was precipitated before any measures to act with success had been taken, and that the necessity of doing so seemed to increase as the means of doing so were taken away. To whom is this to be ascribed? Is it to be ascribed to me, who had no share in these affairs, till a few weeks before the duke of Ormond was forced to abandon England, and the discovery of the intended invasion was published to parliament and to the world? or is it to be ascribed to those who had from the first been at the head of this undertaking?

Unable to defend this point, the next resort of the jacobites is to this impudent and absurd affirmation, that notwithstanding the disadvantages under which they took arms, they should have succeeded, if the indirect assistances, which were asked from France, had been obtained: nay, that they should have been able to defend the highlands, if I had sent them a little powder. Is it possible that a man should be wounded with such blunt weapons? Much more than powder was asked for from the first, and I have already said, that when the Chevalier came into Scotland, regular troops, artillery, &c. were demanded. Both he and the earl of Mar judged it impossible to stand their ground, without such assistance as these. How scandalous then must it be deemed, that they suffer their dependents to spread in the world, that for want of a little powder I forced them to abandon Scotland? The earl of Mar knows, that all the powder in France would not have enabled him to stay at Perth as long as he did, if he had not had another security: and when that failed him, he must have quitted the party, if the regent had given us all that he made some of us expect.

But to finish all that I intend to say on a subject which has tired me, and perhaps you; the jacobites affirm, that the indirect assistances which they desired might have been obtained: and I confess, that I am inexcusable if this fact be true. To prove it, they appeal to the little politicians of whom I have spoken so often. I affirm, on the

the contrary, that nothing could be obtained here to support the Scotch, or to encourage the English. To prove the assertion, I appeal to the ministers with whom I negotiated, and to the regent himself, who, whatever language he may hold in private with other people, cannot controvert with me the truth of what I advance. He excluded me formerly, that he might the more easily avoid doing any thing; and perhaps he has blamed me since, that he might excuse his doing nothing. All this may be true, and yet it will remain true, that he would never have been prevailed upon to act directly against his interest in the only point of view which he has, I mean the crown of France, and against the unanimous sense of all his ministers. Suppose that in the time of the late queen, when she had the peace in view, a party in France had implored her assistance, and had applied to Margery Fielding, to Israel, to my lady Oglethorpe, to Dr. Battle, and lieutenant-general Stewart; what success do you imagine such applications would have had? The queen would have spoke them fair, she would speak otherwise to no body: but do you imagine she would have made one step in their favour? Olive Trant, Magny, mademoiselle Chaussery, a dirty abbé Brigault, and Mr. Dillon, are characters very apposite to these; and what I suppose to have passed in England is not a wit more ridiculous than what really passed here.

I say nothing of the ships which the jacobites pretend that they sent into Scotland three weeks

or a month after the pretender was returned, I believe they might have had my lord Stair's connivance then, as well as the regent's. I say nothing of the order which they pretend to have obtained, and which I never saw, for the stores that were seised at Havre to be delivered to Castel Blanco. I have already said enough on this head, and you cannot have failed to observe, that this signal favour was never obtained by these people, till the marshal d'Huxelles had owned to me, that nothing was to be expected from France, and that the only thing which I could do was to endeavour to bring the pretender, the earl of Mar, and the principal persons who were most exposed, off: neither he nor I imagining that any such would be left behind.

When I began to appear in the world, upon the advertisements which my friends gave me of the clamour that was raised against me, you will easily think I did not enter into so many particulars as I have done with you. I said even less, than you have seen, in those letters which Brinsden writ into England, in March and April was twelvemonth; and yet the clamour sunk immediately. The people of consideration at this court beat it down, and the court of St. Germain's grew so ashamed of it, that the queen thought fit to purge herself of having had any share in encouraging the discourses which were held against me, or having been so much as let into the secret of the measure which preceded them. The provocation was great, but I resolved to act without passion.

passion. I saw the advantage the pretender and his council, who disposed of things better for me than I should have done for myself, had given me: but I saw likewise, that I must improve this advantage with the utmost caution.

As I never imagined that he would treat me in the manner he did, nor that his ministers could be weak enough to advise him to it; I had resolved, on his return from Scotland, to follow him till his residence should be fixed somewhere or other: after which, having served the tories in this, which I looked upon as their last struggle for power, and having continued to act in the pretender's affairs till the end of the term for which I embarked with him; I should have esteemed myself to be at liberty, and should in the civilest manner I was able have taken my leave of him. Had we parted thus, I should have remained in a very strange situation during the rest of my life: but I had examined myself thoroughly, I was determined, I was prepared.

On one side he would have thought that he had a sort of right on any future occasion to call me out of my retreat; the tories would probably have thought the same thing: my resolution was taken to refuse them both, and I foresaw, that both would condemn me. On the other side, the consideration of his keeping measures with me, joined to that of having once openly declared for him, would have created a point of honour by which I should have been tied down, not only from ever engaging against him, but also from making my peace at home. The Chevalier cut this gor-

dian knot asunder at one blow. He broke the links of that chain which former engagements had fastened on me, and gave me a right to esteem myself as free from all obligations of keeping measures with him, as I should have continued if I had never engaged in his interest. I took therefore, from that moment, the resolution of making my peace at home, and of employing all the unfortunate experience I had acquired abroad, to undeceive my friends, and to promote the union and the quiet of my country.

The earl of Stair had received a full power to treat with me, while I was engaged with the pretender, as I have been since informed. He had done me the justice to believe me incapable to hearken, in such circumstances, to any proposals of that kind: and as much friendship as he had for me, as much as I had for him, we entertained not the least even indirect correspondence together during that whole time. Soon afterward he employed a person* to communicate to me the disposition of his majesty to grant me my pardon, and his own desire to give me, on this occasion, all the proofs he could of his inclination in my favour. I embraced the offer, as it became me to do, with all possible sense of the king's goodness, and of his lordship's friendship†. We met, we talked together, and he writ to the court on the

* Saladin of Geneva, then at Paris.

† There will be added, at the end of this relation, an original letter from the earl of Stair to Mr. Craggs, giving a full account of the transaction here mentioned.

subject.

subject. The turn which the ministers gave to this matter was, to enter into a treaty to reverse my attainder, and to stipulate the conditions on which this act of grace should be granted me.

The notion of a treaty shocked me. I resolved never to be restored rather than go that way to work, and I opened myself without any reserve to lord Stair. I told him that I looked on myself to be obliged in honour and in conscience to undeceive my friends in England, both as to the state of foreign affairs, as to the management of the jacobite interest abroad, and as to the characters of persons: in every one of which points I knew them to be most grossly and most dangerously deluded. That the treatment I had received from the pretender and his adherents would justify me to the world in doing this: that if I remained in exile all my life, he might be assured, that I would never more have to do with the jacobite cause; and that if I was restored, I should give it an effectual blow, in making that apology which the pretender has put me under a necessity of making: that in doing this I flattered myself, that I should contribute something to the establishment of the king's government, and to the union of his subjects; but that this was all the merit which I could promise to have: that if the court believed these professions to be sincere, a treaty with me was unnecessary for them; and that if they did not believe them so, a treaty with them was dangerous for me: that I was determined in this whole transaction to make no one

step

step which I would not own in the face of the world; that in other circumstances it might be sufficient to act honestly, but that in a case as extraordinary as mine, it was necessary to act clearly, and to leave no room for the least doubtful construction.

The earl of Stair, as well as Mr. Craggs, who arrived soon after in France, came into my sense. I have reason to believe, that the king has approved it likewise upon their representations, since he has been pleased to give me the most gracious assurances of his favour. What the effect of all this may be, in the next, or in any other session, I know not: but this is the foot on which I have put myself, and on which I stand at the moment I write to you. The whigs may continue inveterate, and by consequence frustrate his majesty's good intentions towards me; the tories may continue to rail at me, on the credit of such enemies as I have described to you in the course of this relation: neither the one nor the other shall make me swerve out of the path which I have traced to myself.

I have now led you through the several stages which I proposed at first, and I should do wrong to your good understanding as well as to our mutual friendship, if I suspected that you could hold any other language to me than that which Dolabella uses to Cicero. "Satisfactum est jam "a te vel officio vel familiaritati; satisfactum "etiam partibus." The king, who pardons me, might complain of me, the whigs might declaim

against me, my family might reproach me for the little regard which I have shown to my own and to their interest; but where is the crime I have been guilty of towards my party and towards my friends? In what part of my conduct will the tories find an excuse for the treatment which they have given me? As tories, such as they were when I left England, I defy them to find any. But here lies the sore, and tender as it is, I must lay it open. Those among them, who rail at me now, are changed from what they were, or from what they professed themselves to be, when we lived and acted together. They were tories then, they are jacobites now. Their objections to the course of my conduct while I was in the pretender's interest are the pretence; the true reason of their anger is, that I renounce the pretender for my life. When you were first driven into this interest, I may appeal to you for the notion which the party had. You thought of restoring him by the strength of the tories, and of opposing a tory king to a whig king. You took him up as the instrument of your revenge and of your ambition. You looked on him as your creature, and never once doubted of making what terms you pleased with him. This is so true, that the same language is still held to the catechumens in jacobitism. Were the contrary to be avowed even now, the party in England would soon diminish. I engaged on this principle when your orders sent me to Commercy, and I never acted on any other. This ought to have been part of my merit towards

towards the tories, and it would have been so if they had continued in the same dispositions. But they are changed, and this very thing is become my crime. Instead of making the pretender their tool, they are his. Instead of having in view to restore him on their own terms, they are labouring to do it without any terms; that is, to speak properly, they are ready to receive him on his. Be not deceived: there is not a man on this side of the water who acts in any other manner. The church of England jacobite, and the Irish papist, seem in every respect to have the same cause. Those on your side of the water, who correspond with these, are to be comprehended in the same class; and from hence it is, that the clamour raised against me has been kept up with so much industry, and is redoubled on the least appearance of my return home, and of my being in a situation to justify myself.

You have seen already what reasons the pretender, and the several sorts of people who compose his party here, had to get rid of me, and to cover me to the utmost of their power with infamy. Their views were as short in this case as they are in all others. They did not see at first, that this conduct would not only give me a right, but put me under a necessity of keeping no farther measures with them, and of laying the whole mystery of their iniquity open. As soon as they discovered this, they took the only course which was left them, that of poisoning the minds of the tories, and of creating such prejudices against me

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while I remained in a condition of not speaking for myself, as will, they hope, prevent the effect of whatever I may say when I am in a condition of pleading my own cause. The bare apprehension, that I shall show the world that I have been guilty of no crime, renders me criminal among these men: and they hold themselves ready, being unable to reply either in point of fact or in point of reason, to drown my voice in the confusion of their clamour.

The only crimes I am guilty of, I own. I own the crime of having been for the pretender, in a very different manner from those with whom I acted. I served him as faithfully, I served him as well as they, but I served him on a different principle. I own the crime of having renounced him, and of being resolved never to have to do with him as long as I live. I own the crime of being determined sooner or later, as soon as I can, to clear myself of all the unjust aspersions which have been cast upon me; to undeceive by my experience as many as I can of those tories who may have been drawn into errour, and to contribute, if ever I return home, as far as I am able, to promote the national good of Britain without any other regard. These crimes do not, I hope, by this time appear to you to be of a very black dye. You may come, perhaps, to think them virtues, when you have read and considered what remains to be said; for before I conclude, it is necessary that I open one matter to you, which I could not weave in sooner without breaking too much

much the thread of my narration. In this place, unmingled with any thing else, it will have, as it deserves to have, your whole attention.

Whoever composed that curious piece of false fact, false argument, false English, and false eloquence, the letter from Avignon, says, that I was not thought the most proper person to speak about religion. I confess I should be of his mind, and should include his patrons in my case, if the practice of it was to be recommended: for surely it is unpardonable impudence to impose by precept what we do not teach by example. I should be of the same mind, if the nature of religion was to be explained, if it's mysteries were to be fathomed, and if this great truth was to be established, that the church of England has the advantage over all other churches in purity of doctrine and in wisdom of discipline. But nothing of this kind was necessary. This would have been the task of reverend and learned divines. We of the laity had nothing more to do than to lay in our claim, that we could never submit to be governed by a prince who was not of the religion of our country. Such a declaration could hardly have failed of some effect toward opening the eyes and disposing the mind even of the pretender. At least, in justice to ourselves, and in justice to our party, we who were here ought to have made it, and the influence of it on the pretender ought to have become the rule of our subsequent conduct.

In thinking in this manner I think no otherwise now

now than I have always thought: and I cannot forget, nor you neither, what passed when, a little before the death of the queen, letters were conveyed from the Chevalier to several persons, to myself among others. In the letter to me, the article of religion was so awkwardly handled, that he made the principal motive of the confidence we ought to have in him to consist in his firm resolution to adhere to popery. The effect which this epistle had on me was the same which it had on those tories to whom I communicated it at that time; it made us resolve to have nothing to do with him.

Some time after this I was assured by several, and I make no doubt but others have been so too, that the Chevalier at the bottom was not a bigot. That while he remained abroad and could expect no succour, either present or future, from any princes but those of the roman catholic communion, it was prudent, whatever he might think, to make no demonstration of a design to change: but that his temper was such, and he was already so disposed, that we might depend on his compliance with what should be desired of him, if ever he came among us, and was taken from under the wing of the queen his mother. To strengthen this opinion of his character, it was said that he had sent for Mr. Lesley over; that he allowed him to celebrate the church of England service in his family, and that he had promised to hear what this divine should represent on the subject of religion to him. When I came abroad, the same

same things, and much more, were at first insinuated to me, and I began to let them make impression upon me, notwithstanding what I had seen under his hand. I would willingly flatter myself, that this impression disposed me to incline to jacobitism, rather than allow that the inclination to jacobitism disposed me easily to believe what, upon that principle, I had so much reason to wish might be true. Which was the cause, and which the effect, I cannot well determine: perhaps they did mutually occasion each other. Thus much is certain, that I was far from weighing this matter as I ought to have done, when the solicitation of my friends and the persecution of my enemies precipitated me into engagements with the pretender.

I was willing to take it for granted, that since you were as ready to declare, as I believed you at that time, you must have had entire satisfaction on the article of religion. I was soon undeceived; this string had never been touched. My own observation, and the unanimous report of all those who from his infancy have approached the pretender's person, soon taught me how difficult it is to come to terms with him on this head, and how unsafe to embark without them.

His religion is not founded on the love of virtue and the detestation of vice; on a sense of that obedience which is due to the will of the Supreme Being, and a sense of those obligations which creatures formed to live in a mutual dependence on one another lie under. The spring of his whole conduct

conduct is fear. Fear of the horns of the devil, and of the flames of Hell. He has been taught to believe, that nothing but a blind submission to the church of Rome, and a strict adherence to all the terms of that communion, can save him from these dangers. He has all the superstition of a capuchin; but I found on him no tincture of the religion of a prince. Do not imagine that I loose the reins to my imagination, or that I write what my resentments dictate: I tell you simply my opinion. I have heard the same description of his character made by those who know him best; and I conversed with very few among the roman catholics themselves, who did not think him too much a papist.

Nothing gave me from the beginning so much uneasiness as the consideration of this part of his character, and of the little care which had been taken to correct it. A true turn had not been given to the first steps which were made with him. The tories, who engaged afterward, threw themselves as it were at his head. He had been suffered to think, that the party in England wanted him as much as he wanted them. There was no room to hope for much compliance on the head of religion, when he was in these sentiments, and when he thought the tories too far advanced to have it in their power to retreat: and little dependence was at any time to be placed on the promises of a man capable of thinking his damnation attached to the observance, and his salvation to the breach of these very promises. Some-

thing, however, was to be done: and I thought that the least which could be done was, to deal plainly with him, and to show him the impossibility of governing our nation by any other expedient, than by complying with that which would be expected from him as to his religion. This was thought too much by the duke of Ormond and Mr. Lesley; although the duke could be no more ignorant than the minister, how ill the latter had been used, how far the Chevalier had been from keeping the word which he had given, and on the faith of which Mr. Lesley had come over to him. They both knew, that he not only refused to hear himself, but that he sheltered the ignorance of his priests, or the badness of his cause, or both, behind his authority, and absolutely forbid all discourse concerning religion. The duke seemed convinced, that it would be time enough to talk of religion to him when he should be restored, or, at soonest, when he should be landed in England; that the influence under which he had lived being at a distance, the reasonableness of what we might propose, joined to the apparent necessity which would then stare him in the face, could not fail to produce all the effects which we could desire.

To me this whole reasoning appeared fallacious. Our business was not to make him change appearances on this side of the water, but to prepare him to give those which would be necessary on the other: and there was no room to hope, that, if we could gain nothing on his prejudices here,

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we should be able to overcome them in Britain. I would have argued just as the duke of Ormond and Lesley, if I had been a papist; and I saw well enough, that some people about him, for in a great dearth of ability there was cunning to be met with, affected nothing more than to keep off all discourse of religion. To my apprehension it was exceeding plain, that we should find, if we were once in England, the necessity of going forward at any rate with him, much greater than he would find that of complying with us. I thought it an unpardonable fault to have taken a formal engagement with him, when no previous satisfaction had been obtained on a point, at least as essential to our civil as to our religious rights; to the peace of the state, as to the prosperity of the church: and I looked on this fault to be aggravated by every day's delay. Our silence was unfair, both to the Chevalier, and to our friends in England. He was induced by it to believe, that they would exact far less from him, than we knew they expected: and they were confirmed in an opinion of his docility, which we knew to be void of all foundation. The pretence of removing that influence, under which he had lived, was frivolous, and should never have been urged to me, who saw plainly, that according to the measures pursued by the very persons who urged it, he must be environed in England by the same people that surrounded him here; and that the court of St. James's would be constituted, if ever he was restored, in the same manner as that of St. Germain's was.

When the draught of a declaration, and other papers which were to be dispersed in Great Britain, came to be settled, it appeared that my apprehension and distrust were but too well founded. The pretender took exception against several passages, and particularly against those, wherein a direct promise of securing the churches of England and Ireland was made. He was told, he said, that he could not in conscience make such a promise: and, the debate being kept up a little while, he asked me with some warmth, why the tories were so desirous to have him, if they expected those things from him which his religion did not allow? I left these draughts by his order with him, that he might consider and amend them. I cannot say that he sent them to the queen to be corrected by her confessor and the rest of her council; but I firmly believe it. Sure I am, that he took time sufficient to do this; before he sent them from Bar where he then was, to Paris whither I was returned. When they were digested in such a manner as satisfied his casuists, he made them be printed: and my name was put to the declaration, as if the original had been signed by me. I had hitherto submitted my opinion to the judgment of others; but on this occasion I took advice from myself. I declared to him, that I would not suffer my name to be at the bottom of this paper. All the copies which came to my hands I burnt, and another was printed off, without any countersigning.

The whole tenour of the amendments was one continued instance of the grossest bigotry; and

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the most material passages were turned with all the jesuitical prevarication imaginable. As much as it was his interest, at that time, to cultivate the respect which many of the tories really had for the memory of the late queen, and which many others affected as a farther mark of their opposition to the court, and to the whig party; as much as it was his interest to weave the honour of her name into his cause, and to render her, even after her death, a party to the dispute; he could not be prevailed upon to give her that character which her enemies allowed her, nor to make use of those expressions in speaking of her, which by the general manner of their application, are come to be little more than terms of respect and words of form, proper in the style of public acts. For instance:

She was called in the original draught "his "sister of glorious and blessed memory." In that which he published, the epithet of "blessed" was left out. Her eminent justice and her exemplary piety, were occasionally mentioned. In lieu of which, he substituted a flat, and in this case an invidious expression, "her inclinations "to justice."

Not content with declaring her neither just nor pious in this world, he did little less than declare her damned in the other, according to the charitable principles of the church of Rome.

"When it pleased Almighty God to take her "to himself," was the expression used in speaking of the death of the queen. This he erased, and

instead thereof inserted these words: "when it "pleased Almighty God to put a period to her "life."

He graciously allowed the universities to be nurseries of loyalty, but did not think that it became him to style them "nurseries of religion."

Since his father passes already for a saint, and since reports are encouraged of miracles, which they suppose to be wrought at his tomb, he might have allowed his grandfather to pass for a martyr; but he struck out of the draught these words, "that blessed martyr who died for his people," which were applied to king Charles the first, and would say nothing more of him than that "he "fell a sacrifice to rebellion."

In the clause which related to the churches of England and Ireland, there was a plain and direct promise inserted of "effectual provision for their "security; and for their reestablishment in all "those rights which belong to them." This clause was not suffered to stand, but another was formed, wherein all mention of the church of Ireland was omitted, and nothing was promised to the church of England but the security, "and "reestablishment of all those rights, privileges, "immunities, and possessions which belong to "her," and wherein he had already promised by his declaration of the twentieth of July, to secure and "protect all her members."

I need make no comment on a proceeding so easy to be understood. The drift of these evasions, and of this affected obscurity, is obvious enough,

enough, at least it will appear so by the observations which remain to be made.

He was so afraid of admitting any words which might be construed into a promise of his consenting to those things, which should be found necessary for the present or future security of our constitution, that in a paragraph where he was made to say, that he thought himself obliged to be solicitous for the prosperity of the church of England, the word prosperity was expunged; and we were left by this mental reservation to guess what he was solicitous for. It could not be for her prosperity, that he had expunged. It must therefore be for her destruction, which in his language would have been styled her conversion.

Another remarkable proof of the same kind is to be found towards the conclusion of the declaration. After having spoke of the peace and flourishing estate of the kingdom, he was made to express his readiness to concert with the two houses such further measures, as should be thought necessary for securing the same to future generations. The design of this paragraph you see. He and his council saw it too, and therefore the word "securing" was laid aside, and the word "leaving" was inserted in lieu of it.

One would imagine, that a declaration corrected in this manner might have been suffered to go abroad without any farther precaution. But these papers had been penned by protestants, and who could answer, that there might not be still

ground sufficient from the tenour of them, to insist on every thing necessary for the security of that religion? The declaration of the twentieth of July had been penned by a priest of the Scotch college, and the expressions had been measured so as to suit perfectly with the conduct which the Chevalier intended to hold, so as to leave room to distinguish him, upon future occasions, with the help of a little pious sophistry, out of all the engagements which he seemed to take in it. This orthodox paper was therefore to accompany the heretical paper into the world, and no promise of moment was to stand in the latter, unless qualified by a reference to the former. Thus the church was to be secured in the rights, &c. which belong to her. How? No otherwise than according to the declaration of the month of July. And what does that promise? Security and protection to the members of this church in the enjoyment of their property. I make no doubt, but Bellarmine, if he had been the Chevalier's confessor, would have passed this paragraph thus amended. No engagement whatever taken in favour of the church of Ireland, and a happy distinction found between securing that of England, and protecting her members. Many a useful project for the destruction of heretics, and for accumulating power and riches to the see of Rome, has been established on a more slender foundation.

The same spirit reigns through the whole. Civil and religious rights are no otherwise to be con-

firmed, than in conformity to the declaration of July; nay, the general pardon is restrained and limited to the terms prescribed therein.

This is the account which I judged too important to be omitted, and which I chose to give you all together. I shall surely be justified at present in concluding, that the tories are grossly deluded in their opinion of this prince's character, or else that they sacrifice all which ought to be esteemed precious and sacred among men to their passions. In both these cases I remain still a tory, and am true to the party. In the first I endeavour to undeceive you by an experience purchased at my expense and for your sakes: in the second I endeavour to prevail on you to revert to that principle from which we have deviated. You never intended, while I lived among you, the ruin of your country; and yet every step, which you now make toward the restoration you are so fond of, is a step toward this ruin. No man of sense, well informed, can ever go into measures for it, unless he thinks himself and his country in such desperate circumstances, that nothing is left them but to choose of two ruins that which they like best.

The exile of the royal family, under Cromwell's usurpation, was the principal cause of all those misfortunes, in which Britain has been involved, as well as of many of those which have happened to the rest of Europe, during more than half a century.

The two brothers, Charles and James, became then

then infected with popery to such degrees, as their different characters admitted of. Charles had parts, and his good understanding served as an antidote to repel the poison. James, the simplest man of his time, drank off the whole chalice. The poison met, in his composition, with all the fear, all the credulity, and all the obstinacy of temper proper to increase it's virulence, and to strengthen it's effect. The first had always a wrong bias upon him; he connived at the establishment, and indirectly contributed to the growth of that power, which afterward disturbed the peace, and threatened the liberty of Europe so often: but he went no farther out of the way. The opposition of his parliaments, and his own reflections stopped him here. The prince and the people were indeed mutually jealous of one another, from whence much present disorder flowed, and the foundation of future evils was laid: but his good and his bad principles combating still together, he maintained, during a reign of more than twenty years, in some tolerable degree, the authority of the crown, and the flourishing estate of the nation. The last, drunk with superstitious and even enthusiatic zeal, ran headlong into his own ruin, while he endeavoured to precipitate ours. His parliament and his people did all they could to save themselves by winning him. But all was vain: he had no principle on which they could take hold. Even his good qualities worked against them, and his love of his country went halves with his bigotry. How he succeeded

succeeded we have heard from our fathers. The revolution of one thousand six hundred and eighty-eight saved the nation, and ruined the king.

Now the pretender's education has rendered him infinitely less fit than his uncle, and at least as unfit as his father, to be king of Great Britain. Add to this, that there is no resource in his understanding. Men of the best sense find it hard to overcome religious prejudices, which are of all the strongest; but he is a slave to the weakest. The rod hangs like the sword of Damocles over his head, and he trembles before his mother and his priest. What, in the name of God, can any member of the church of England promise himself from such a character? Are we by another revolution to return into the same state from which we were delivered by the first? Let us take example from the roman catholics, who act very reasonably in refusing to submit to a protestant prince. Henry the fourth had at least as good a title to the crown of France as the pretender has to ours. His religion alone stood in his way, and he had never been king if he had not removed that obstacle. Shall we submit to a popish prince, who will no more imitate Henry the fourth in changing his religion, than he will imitate those shining qualities which rendered him the honestest gentleman, the bravest captain, and the greatest prince of his age? Allow me to give a loose to my pen for a moment on this subject. General benevolence, and universal charity seem to be established in the Gospel as the distinguish-

ing

ing badges of christianity. How it happens I cannot tell; but so it is, that in all ages of the church the professors of christianity seem to have been animated by a quite contrary spirit. While they were thinly scattered over the world, tolerated in some places, but established no where, their zeal often consumed their charity. Paganism, at that time the religion by law established, was insulted by many of them; the ceremonies were disturbed, the altars thrown down. As soon as by the favour of Constantine their numbers were increased, and the reins of government were put into their hands, they began to employ the secular arm, not only against different religions, but against different sects which arose in their own religion. A man may boldly affirm that more blood has been shed in the disputes between christian and christian, than has ever been drawn from the whole body of them in the persecutions of the heathen emperors, and in the conquests of the mahometan princes. From these they have received quarter, but never from one another. The christian religion is actually tolerated among the mahometans, and the domes of churches and mosques arise in the same city. But it will be hard to find an example, where one sect of christians has tolerated another which it was in their power to extirpate. They have gone farther in these later ages: what was practised formerly has been taught since. Persecution has been reduced into system, and the disciples of the meek and humble Jesus have avowed a tyranny, which the

most

most barbarous conquerors never claimed. The wicked subtilty of casuists has established breach of faith with those who differ from us, as a duty in opposition to faith, and murder itself has been made one of the means of salvation. I know very well that the reformed churches have been far from going those cruel lengths, which are authorised by the doctrine as well as example of that of Rome; though Calvin put a flaming sword on the title of a French edition of his institute, with this motto, "Je ne suis point venu "mettre la paix, mais l'épee;" but I know likewise, that the difference lies in the means, and not in the aim of their policy. The church of England, the most humane of all of them, would root out every other religion, if it was in her power. She would not hang and burn; her measures would be milder, and therefore, perhaps, more effectual.

Since then there is this inveterate rancour among christians, can any thing be more absurd, than for those of one persuasion to trust the supreme power, or any part of it, to those of another? Particularly, must it not be reputed madness in those of our religion, to trust themselves in the hands of roman catholics? Must it not be reputed impudence in a roman catholic to expect that we should? He who looks upon us as heretics, as men in rebellion against a lawful, nay a divine authority, and whom it is therefore meritorious by all sorts of ways to reduce to obedience. There are many, I know, among them

them who think more generously, and whose morals are not corrupted by that which is called religion: but this is the spirit of the priesthood, in whose scale that scrap of a parable, "Compel "them to come in," which they apply as they please, outweighs the whole decalogue. This will be the spirit of every man who is bigot enough to be under their direction: and so much is sufficient for my present purpose.

During your last session of parliament, it was expected that the whigs would attempt to repeal the occasional bill. The same jealousy continues; there is, perhaps, foundation for it. Give me leave to ask you, upon what principle we argued for making this law, and upon what principle you must argue against the repeal of it. I have mentioned the principle in the beginning of this discourse. No man ought to be trusted with any share of power under a government, who must, to act consistently with himself, endeavour the destruction of that very government. Shall this proposition pass for true, when it is applied to keep a presbyterian from being mayor of a corporation? and shall it become false, when it is applied to keep a papist from being king? The proposition is equally true in both cases, but the argument drawn from it is just so much stronger in the latter, than in the former case, as the mischiefs, which may result from the power and influence of a king, are greater than those which can be wrought by a magistrate of the lowest order. This seems to my apprehension to be

argumentum

argumentum ad hominem, and I do not see by what happy distinction a jacobite tory could elude the force of it.

It may be said, and it has been urged to me, that if the Chevalier was restored, the knowledge of his character would be our security; "habet "foenum in cornu:" there would be no pretence for trusting him, and by consequence it would be easy to put such restrictions on the exercise of the regal power, as might hinder him from invading or sapping our religion and liberty. But this I utterly deny. Experience has shown us how ready men are to court power and profit; and who can determine, how far either the tories or the whigs would comply, in order to secure to themselves the enjoyment of all the places in the kingdom? Suppose however, that a majority of true Israelites should be found, whom no temptation could oblige to bow the knee to Baal; in order to preserve the government on one hand, must they not destroy it on the other? The necessary restrictions would in this case be so many, and so important, as to leave hardly the shadow of a monarchy, if he submitted to them; and if he did not submit to them, these patriots would have no resource left but in rebellion. Thus, therefore, the affair would turn, if the pretender was restored. We might, most probably, lose our religion and liberty by the bigotry of the prince, and the corruption of the people. We should have no chance of preserving them, but by an entire change of the whole frame of our government,

government, or by another revolution. What reasonable man would voluntarily reduce himself to the necessity of making an option among such melancholy alternatives?

The best which could be hoped for, were the Chevalier on the throne, would be, that a thread of favourable accidents, improved by the wisdom and virtue of parliament, might keep off the evil day during his reign. But still the fatal cause would be established, it would be entailed upon us, and every man would be apprised, that sooner or later the fatal effect must follow. Consider a little what a condition we should be in, both with respect to our foreign interest, and our domestic quiet, while the reprieve lasted, while the Chevalier or his successors made no direct attack upon the constitution.

As to the first, it is true indeed, that princes and states are friends or foes to one another, according as the motives of ambition drive them. These are the first principles of union and division among them. The protestant powers of Europe have joined, in our days, to support and aggrandize the house of Austria, as they did, in the days of our forefathers, to defeat her designs, and to reduce her power; and the most christian king of France has more than once joined his councils, and his arms too, with the councils and arms of the most mahometan emperor of Constantinople. But still there is, and there must continue, as long as the influence of the papal authority subsists in Europe, another general, permanent, and invari-

able

able division of interests. The powers of Earth, like those of Heaven, have two distinct motions. Each of them rolls in his own political orb, but each of them is hurried at the same time round the great vortex of his religion. If this general notion be just, apply it to the present case. While a roman catholick holds the rudder, how can we expect to be steered in our proper course? His political interest will certainly incline him to direct our first motion right; but his mistaken religious interest will render him incapable of doing it steadily.

As to the last, our domestick quiet; even while the Chevalier, and those of his race concealed their game, we should remain in the most unhappy state which human nature is subject to, a state of doubt and suspense. Our preservation would depend on making him the object of our eternal jealousy, who, to render himself and his people happy, ought to be that of our entire confidence.

While the pretender and his successors forbore to attack the religion and liberty of the nation, we should remain in the condition of those people who labour under a broken constitution, or who carry about them some chronical distemper. They feel a little pain at every moment; or a certain uneasiness, which is sometimes less tolerable than pain, hangs continually on them, and they languish in the constant expectation of dying perhaps in the severest torture.

But if the fear of Hell should dissipate all other fears in the pretender's mind, and carry him, which is frequently the effect of that passion, to the most desperate undertakings; if among his successors a man bold enough to make the attempt should arise, the condition of the British nation would be still more deplorable. The attempt succeeding, we should fall into tyranny; for a change of religion could never be brought about by consent; and the same force, that would be sufficient to enslave our consciences, would be sufficient for all the other purposes of arbitrary power. The attempt failing, we should fall into anarchy; for there is no medium when disputes between a prince and his people are arrived at a certain point; he must either be submitted to, or deposed.

I have now laid before you even more than I intended to have said when I took my pen; and I am persuaded, that if these papers ever come to your hands, they will enable you to cast up the account between party and me. Till the time of the queen's death it stands, I believe, even between us. The tories distinguished me by their approbation, and by the credit which I had among them; and I endeavoured to distinguish myself in their service, under the immediate weight of great discouragement, and with the no very distant prospect of great danger. Since that time the account is not so even, and I dare appeal to any impartial person, whether my side in

it

it be that of the debtor. As to the opinion of mankind in general, and the judgment which posterity will pass on these matters, I am under no great concern. "Suum cuique decus poste-" ritas rependit."

FROM THE

EARL OF STAIR,

His Majesty's Embassador at Paris,

TO

JAMES CRAGGS, junior, Esq.

Secret Letter *

Monsieur,

VOUS avés vu par ma depêche l'état de la negotiation. J'ai à present à vous parler, en particulier, de Bolingbroke.

Je l'ai vu chés moi le jour après l'arrivée de Mr. Pitt: et nous avons eu ensemble une conversation d'une heure et demie; dont la substance est, que lui, Bolingbroke, renttroit, du meilleur de son cœur, dans son devoir envers son roi et sa patrie; et que rien au monde étoit capable de le détacher de cette resolution, quand même sa

* This letter, which, with several more private and secret letters, had been returned to lord Stair by his correspondent, was communicated to the Editor of these papers, some time ago, by a relation of his lordship: and it is copied here, exactly, from the original in his own hand-writing.

majesté ne trouveroit pas à propos de lui faire grace. Qu'il étoit prêt, de ce moment, à s'employer avec moi dans ce païs-ici pour la service du roi, si je croyois qu'il y pouvoit être utile à quelque chose ; et qu'il me communiqueroit tout ce qui viendroit à sa connoissance que me pourroit être de quelque usage, et qu'il m'aideroit volontiers de toutes les lumieres qu'il pourroit avoir acquises par ses habitudes ici.

Il me dit, que je sçavois bien, par son caractere, qu'il ne faisoit pas les choses à demi ; qu'en rentrant en son devoir il se proposoit de servir le roi et sa patrie avec zèle et avec affection. Que pour cet effet, il se croiroit obligé, par toutes les obligations du devoir, de la reconnoissance, de l'honneur et de l'interêt même, d'informer le roi de tout ce que son experience lui pourroit suggérer d'utile pour le service de sa majesté, pour l'affermissement de la tranquillité publique, et pour prévenir tous les projets qui se pourront former en faveur de ses ennemis. Qu'il feroit tout ce qui dependroit de lui de faire rentrer les toris qui ont embrassé le parti du prétendant dans leur devoir, en leur faisant voir quelle espece d'homme le prétendant étoit ; et qu'ils se trompoient s'ils croyient qu'ils pourroient avoir de la seureté avec lui ou pour leur liberté ou pour leur réligion. Que pour pouvoir faire cela, il étoit necessaire, même pour le service du roi, que lui, Bolingbroke, ne fût pas perdu de reputation, qu'il ne passât pas pour délateur.

Il

Il insista beaucoup sur cet article. " Ce que " je propose de faire, me dit-il, est digne d'un " honnête homme, convaincu de son erreur et " touché d'un vrai répentir ; c'est ce que je ferai " hautement et à la face de l'univers : et per- " mettés-moi d'ajouter, que c'est un service réel " que je rendrai au roi et à ma patrie. Mais de " consentir à trahir des particuliers, ou à trahir " des particuliers, ou à révéler ce qui m'a été " confié, ce seroit me deshonnorer à jamais."

Je ne dois pas oublier à vous dire, qu'outre son éloignement pour le prétendant, il m'a témoigné beaucoup de dépit contre la France : et je suis sûr qu'il me parloit sincerement.

Je serai bien-aise d'être instruit au plutôt touchant les intentions du roi à son égard, et de ce que je dois lui promettre au nom de sa majesté ; afin qu'il puisse être en état de se rétirer de ce païs-ici, où j'appréhende qu'il ne fait pas bon pour lui.

Pour moi ; je vous avoue franchement, que je crois qu'il m'a parlé dans la sincérité de son cœur ; qu'il est resolu de faire son mieux pour abattre le parti du prétendant, et pour le déraciner tout-à-fait si cela dependoit de lui : et il me paroit certain, qu'il n'y a personne qui puisse nuire au prétendant au point qu'il le peut faire.

A la fin de nôtre conversation, il me serra la main, et me dit : " Mi lord, si l'on me fait la " justice de croire que mes professions sont sin- " ceres, plus ils menagent ma réputation, plus " ils font le service du roi. Si au contraire ils

" me soupçonnent de ne pas marcher droit, ils
" auront raison d'exiger de moi des conditions
" que j'aurai en même tems raison, comme un
" honnête homme, de réfuser. Les difficultés
" que je fais de promettre trop, peuvent servir
" de garans que je tiendrai ce à quoi je m'engage.
" En tout cas, le tems et ma conduite uniforme
" convaincront tout le monde de la droiture de
" mes intentions: et il vaut mieux attendre ce
" tems avec patience, quelque long qu'il puisse
" être, que d'arriver avec precipitation à son but
" en sortant du grand chemin de l'honneur et de
" la probité."

REFLECTIONS

UPON

EXILE.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR

1716.

REFLECTIONS

UPON

EXILE*.

MDCCXVI.

DISSIPATION of mind, and length of time, are the remedies to which the greatest part of mankind trust in their afflictions. But the first of these works a temporary, the second a slow, effect: and both are unworthy of a wise man. Are we to fly from ourselves that we may fly from our misfortunes, and fondly to imagine that the disease is cured, because we find means to get some moments of respite from pain? Or shall we expect from time, the physician of brutes, a lingering and uncertain deliverance? Shall we wait to be happy till we can forget that we are miserable, and owe to the weakness of our faculties a tranquillity, which ought to be the effect of their strength? Far otherwise. Let us set all our past and our present afflictions at once before our eyes†. Let us resolve to overcome them,

* Several passages of this little Treatise are taken from Seneca: and the whole is writ with some allusion to his style and manner, "quanquam non omnino temere sit, quod de sententiis illius queritur Fabius," &c. Eras. De Sen. jud.

† Sen. De Con. ad Hel.

instead

instead of flying from them, or wearing out the sense of them by long and ignominious patience. Instead of palliating remedies, let us use the incision-knife and the caustic, search the wound to the bottom, and work an immediate and radical cure.

The recalling of former misfortunes serves to fortify the mind against later. He must blush to sink under the anguish of one wound, who surveys a body seamed over with the scars of many, and who has come victorious out of all the conflicts wherein he received them. Let sighs, and tears, and fainting under the lightest strokes of adverse fortune, be the portion of those unhappy people, whose tender minds a long course of felicity has enervated: while such, as have passed through years of calamity, bear up, with a noble and immovable constancy, against the heaviest. Uninterrupted misery has this good effect, as it continually torments, it finally hardens.

Such is the language of philosophy: and happy is the man who acquires the right of holding it. But this right is not to be acquired by pathetic discourse. Our conduct can alone give it us: and therefore, instead of presuming on our strength, the surest method is to confess our weakness, and, without loss of time, to apply ourselves to the study of wisdom. This was the advice which the oracle gave to Zeno*, and there is no other way of securing our tranquillity amidst

* Diog. Laert.

all

all the accidents to which human life is exposed. Philosophy has, I know, her Thrasoes, as well as war: and among her sons many there have been, who, while they aimed at being more than men, became something less. The means of preventing this danger are easy and sure. It is a good rule, to examine well before we addict ourselves to any sect: but I think it is a better rule, to addict ourselves to none. Let us hear them all, with a perfect indifferency on which side the truth lies: and, when we come to determine, let nothing appear so venerable to us as our own understandings. Let us gratefully accept the help of every one who has endeavoured to correct the vices, and strengthen the minds of men; but let us choose for ourselves, and yield universal assent to none. Thus, that I may instance the sect already mentioned, when we have laid aside the wonderful and surprising sentences, and all the paradoxes of the Portique, we shall find in that school such doctrines as our unprejudiced reason submits to with pleasure, as nature dictates, and as experience confirms. Without this precaution, we run the risk of becoming imaginary kings, and real slaves. With it, we may learn to assert our native freedom, and live independent on fortune.

In order to which great end, it is necessary that we stand watchful, as centinels, to discover the secret wiles and open attacks of this capricious goddess, before they reach us*. Where she falls upon us unexpected, it is hard to resist; but

* Sen. De Con. ad Hel.

those

those who wait for her, will repel her with ease. The sudden invasion of an enemy overthrows such as are not on their guard; but they who foresee the war, and prepare themselves for it before it breaks out, stand, without difficulty, the first and the fiercest onset. I learned this important lesson long ago, and never trusted to fortune even while she seemed to be at peace with me. The riches, the honours, the reputation, and all the advantages which her treacherous indulgence poured upon me, I placed so, that she might snatch them away without giving me any disturbance. I kept a great interval between me and them. She took them, but she could not tear them from me. No man suffers by bad fortune, but he who has been deceived by good. If we grow fond of her gifts, fancy that they belong to us, and are perpetually to remain with us, if we lean upon them, and expect to be considered for them; we shall sink into all the bitterness of grief, as soon as these false and transitory benefits pass away, as soon as our vain and childish minds, unfraught with solid pleasures, become destitute even of those which are imaginary. But, if we do not suffer ourselves to be transported by prosperity, neither shall we be reduced by adversity. Our souls will be of proof against the dangers of both these states: and, having explored our strength, we shall be sure of it; for in the midst of felicity, we shall have tried how we can bear misfortune.

It is much harder to examine and judge, than

to take up opinions on trust; and therefore the far greatest part of the world borrow, from others, those which they entertain concerning all the affairs of life and death*. Hence it proceeds that men are so unanimously eager in the pursuit of things, which, far from having any inherent real good, are varnished over with a specious and deceitful gloss, and contain nothing answerable to their appearances†. Hence it proceeds, on the other hand, that, in those things which are called evils, there is nothing so hard and terrible as the general cry of the world threatens. The word exile comes indeed harsh to the ear, and strikes us like a melancholy and execrable sound, through a certain persuasion which men have habitually concurred in. Thus the multitude has ordained. But the greatest part of their ordinances are abrogated by the wise.

Rejecting therefore the judgment of those who determine according to popular opinions, or the first appearances of things, let us examine what exile really is‡. It is, then, a change of place; and, lest you should say that I diminish the object, and conceal the most shocking parts of it, I add, that this change of place is frequently accompanied by some or all of the following inconveniences: by the loss of the estate which we

* Dum unusquisque mavult credere, quam judicare, nunquam de vita judicatur, semper creditur. Sen. De Vita beat.

† Sen. De Con. ad Hel. ‡ Sen. De Con. ad Hel.

enjoyed,

enjoyed, and the rank which we held; by the loss of that consideration and power which we were in possession of; by a separation from our family and our friends; by the contempt which we may fall into; by the ignominy with which those who have driven us abroad will endeavour to sully the innocence of our characters, and to justify the injustice of their own conduct.

All these shall be spoke to hereafter. In the meanwhile, let us consider what evil there is, in change of place, abstractedly and by itself.

To live deprived of one's country is intolerable*. Is it so? How comes it then to pass that such numbers of men live out of their countries by choice? Observe how the streets of London and of Paris are crowded. Call over those millions by name, and ask them one by one, of what country they are: how many will you find, who, from different parts of the Earth, come to inhabit these great cities, which afford the largest opportunities, and the largest encouragement, to virtue and to vice? Some are drawn by ambition, and some are sent by duty; many resort thither to improve their minds, and many to improve their fortunes; others bring their beauty, and others their eloquence, to market. Remove from hence, and go to the utmost extremities of the East or the West: visit the barbarous nations of Africa, or the inhospitable regions of the North: you will find no climate so bad, no country so savage, as not to have some people who come from abroad, and inhabit there by choice.

* Sen. De Con. ad Hel.

Among

Among numberless extravagancies which have passed through the minds of men, we may justly reckon for one that notion of a secret affection, independent of our reason, and superiour to our reason, which we are supposed to have for our country; as if there were some physical virtue in every spot of ground, which necessarily produced this effect in every one born upon it.

"—— Amor patriae ratione valentior omni*."

As if the heimvei was a universal distemper, inseparable from the constitution of a human body, and not peculiar to the Swiss, who seem to have been made for their mountains, as their mountains seem to have been made for them†. This notion may have contributed to the security and grandeur of states. It has therefore been not unartfully cultivated, and the prejudice of education has been with care put on it's side. Men have come in this case, as in many, from believing that it ought to be so, to persuade others, and even to believe themselves, that it is so. Procopius relates that Abgarus came to Rome, and gained the esteem and friendship of Augustus to such a degree, that this emperor could not resolve to let him return home: that Abgarus brought several beasts, which he had taken one day in hunting, alive to Augustus: that he placed in different parts of the circus some of the earth which belonged to the places where each of these animals had been caught; that as soon as this was done, and they were turned loose, every one

* Ov. De Ponto, El. iv. † Card. Benti. Let.

of

of them ran to that corner where his earth lay: that Augustus, admiring their sentiment of love for their country which nature has graved in the hearts of beasts, and struck by the evidence of the truth, granted the request which Abgarus immediately pressed upon him, and allowed, though with regret, the tetrarch to return to Edessa. But this tale deserves just as much credit as that which follows in the same place, of the letter of Abgarus to Jesus Christ, of our Saviour's answer, and of the cure of Abgarus. There is nothing, surely, more groundless than the notion here advanced, nothing more absurd. We love the country in which we are born, because we receive particular benefits from it, and because we have particular obligations to it: which ties we may have to another country, as well as to that we are born in; to our country by election, as well as to our country by birth. In all other respects, a wise man looks on himself as a citizen of the world: and, when you ask him where his country lies, points, like Anaxagoras, with his finger to the heavens.

There are other persons, again, who have imagined that as the whole universe suffers a continual rotation, and nature seems to delight in it, or to preserve herself by it, so there is in the minds of men, a natural restlessness, which inclines them to change of place, and to the shifting their habitations*. This opinion has at least an appearance of truth, which the other

* Sen. De Con. ad Hel.

wants;

wants; and is countenanced, as the other is contradicted, by experience. But, whatever the reasons be, which must have varied infinitely in an infinite number of cases, and an immense space of time; true it is in fact, that the families and nations of the world have been in a continual fluctuation, roaming about on the face of the globe, driving and driven out by turns. What a number of colonies has Asia sent into Europe! The Phoenicians planted the coasts of the Mediterranean sea, and pushed their settlements even into the ocean. The Etrurians were of Asiatic extraction; and, to mention no more, the Romans, those lords of the world, acknowledged a Trojan exile for the founder of their empire. How many migrations have there been, in return to these, from Europe into Asia? They would be endless to enumerate; for, beside the Aeolic, the Ionic, and others of almost equal fame, the Greeks, during several ages, made continual expeditions, and built cities in several parts of Asia. The Gauls penetrated thither too, and established a kingdom. The European Scythians overran these vast provinces, and carried their arms to the confines of Egypt. Alexander subdued all from the Hellespont to India, and built towns, and established colonies, to secure his conquests, and to eternize his name. From both these parts of the world Africa has received inhabitants and masters; and what she has received she has given. The Tyrians built the city, and founded the republic of Carthage; and Greek

has been the language of Egypt. In the remotest antiquity we hear of Belus in Chaldæa, and of Sesostris planting his tawny colonies in Colchos: and Spain has been, in these latter ages, under the dominion of the Moors. If we turn to Runic history, we find our fathers, the Goths, led by Woden and by Thor, their heroes first and their divinities afterward, from the Asiatic Tartary into Europe: and who can assure us that this was their first migration? They came into Asia perhaps by the east, from that continent to which their sons have lately sailed from Europe by the west: and thus, in the process of three or four thousand years, the same race of men have pushed their conquests and their habitations round the globe: at least this may be supposed, as reasonably as it is supposed, I think by Grotius, that America was peopled from Scandinavia. The world is a great wilderness, wherein mankind have wandered and jostled one another about from the creation. Some have removed by necessity, and others by choice. One nation has been fond of seizing what another was tired of possessing: and it will be difficult to point out the country which is to this day in the hands of it's first inhabitants.

Thus fate has ordained that nothing shall remain long in the same state: and what are all these transportations of people, but so many public exiles? Varro, the most learned of the Romans, thought, since nature* is the same wherever we

* Sen. De Con. ad Hel.

go,

go, that this single circumstance was sufficient to remove all objections to change of place, taken by itself, and stripped of the other inconveniences which attend exile. M. Brutus thought it enough, that those who go into banishment cannot be hindered from carrying their virtue along with them. Now, if any one judge that each of these comforts is in itself insufficient, he must however confess that both of them, joined together, are able to remove the terrours of exile. For what trifles must all we leave behind us be esteemed, in comparison of the two most precious things which men can enjoy, and which, we are sure, will follow us wherever we turn our steps, the same nature, and our proper virtue*? Believe me, the providence of God has established such an order in the world, that of all which belongs to us the least valuable parts can alone fall under the will of others. Whatever is best is safest; lies out of the reach of human power; can neither be given nor taken away. Such is this great and beautiful work of nature, the world. Such is the mind of man, which contemplates and admires the world whereof it makes the noblest part. These are inseparably ours, and as long as we remain in one we shall enjoy the other. Let us march therefore intrepidly wherever we are led by the course of human accidents. Wherever they lead us, on what coast soever we are thrown by them, we shall not find ourselves absolutely strangers. We shall meet with men and women,

* Sen. De Con. ad Hel.

creatures of the same figure, endowed with the same faculties, and born under the same laws of nature. We shall see the same virtues and vices, flowing from the same general principles, but varied in a thousand different and contrary modes, according to that infinite variety of laws and customs which is established for the same universal end, the preservation of society. We shall feel the same revolution of seasons, and the same sun and moon* will guide the course of our year. The same azure vault, bespangled with stars, will be every where spread over our heads. There is no part of the world from whence we may not admire those planets which roll, like ours, in different orbits round the same central sun; from whence we may not discover an object still more stupendous, that army of fixed stars hung up in the immense space of the universe, innumerable suns whose beams enlighten and cherish the unknown worlds which roll around them: and while I am ravished by such contemplations as these, while my soul is thus raised up to Heaven, it imports me little what ground I tread upon.

Brutus†, in the book which he writ on virtue, related that he had seen Marcellus in exile at Mitylene, living in all the happiness which human

* Plut. Of Banishment. He compares those who cannot live out of their own country, to the simple people who fancied that the moon of Athens was a finer moon than that of Corinth.

—— labentem cœlo quæ ducitis annum.

VIRG. Georg.

† Sen. De Con. ad Hel.

nature

nature is capable of, and cultivating, with as much assiduity as ever, all kinds of laudable knowledge. He added, that this spectacle made him think that it was rather he who went into banishment, since he was to return without the other, than the other who remained in it. O Marcellus, far more happy when Brutus approved thy exile, than when the commonwealth approved thy consulship! How great a man must thou have been, to extort admiration from him who appeared an object of admiration even to his own Cato! The same Brutus reported further, that Cæsar overshot Mitylene, because he could not stand the sight of Marcellus reduced to a state so unworthy of him. His restoration was at length obtained by the public intercession of the whole senate, who were dejected with grief to such a degree, that they seemed all upon this occasion to have the same sentiments with Brutus, and to be suppliants for themselves rather than for Marcellus*. This was to return with honour; but surely he remained abroad with greater, when Brutus could not resolve to leave him, nor Cæsar to see him; for both of them bore witness of his merit. Brutus grieved, and Cæsar blushed to go to Rome without him.

Q. Metellus Numidicus had undergone the same fate some years before, while the people,

* Marcellus was assassinated at Athens, in his return home, by Chilo, an old friend, and fellow soldier of his. The motive of Chilo is not explained in history. Cæsar was suspected, but he seems to be justified by the opinion of Brutus.

who are always the surest instruments of their own servitude, were laying, under the conduct of Marius, the foundations of that tyranny which was perfected by Cæsar. Metellus alone, in the midst of an intimidated senate, and outrageous multitude, refused to swear to the pernicious laws of the tribune Saturninus. His constancy became his crime, and exile his punishment. A wild and lawless faction prevailing against him, the best men of the city armed in his defence, and were ready to lay down their lives that they might preserve so much virtue to their country. But he, having failed to persuade, thought it not lawful to constrain. He judged in the phrenzy of the Roman commonwealth, as Plato judged in the dotage of the Athenian. Metellus knew, that if his fellow citizens amended, he should be recalled; and if they did not amend, he thought he could be no where worse than at Rome. He went voluntarily into exile, and wherever he passed he carried the sure symptom of a sickly state, and the certain prognostic of an expiring commonwealth. What temper he continued in abroad will best appear by a fragment of one of his letters, which Gellius*, in a pedantic compilation of phrases used by the annalist Q. Claudius, has preserved for the sake of the word fruniscor. "Illi vero omni jure atque honestate interdicti: "ego neque aqua neque igne careo: et summa "gloria fruniscor." Happy Metellus! happy

* Lib. xvii, cap. 2.

in

in the conscience of thy own virtue! happy in thy pious son, and in that excellent friend who resembled thee in merit and in fortune!

Rutilius had defended Asia against the extortions of the publicans, according to the strict justice of which he made profession, and to the particular duty of his office. The Equestrian order were upon this account his enemies; and the Marian faction was so of course, on account of his probity, as well as out of hatred to Metellus. The most innocent man of the city was accused of corruption. The best man was prosecuted by the worst, by Apicius; a name dedicated to infamy*. Those who had stirred up the false accusation sat as judges, and pronounced the unjust sentence against him. He hardly deigned to defend his cause, but retired into the East, where that Roman virtue which Rome could not bear, was received with honour†. Shall Rutilius now be deemed unhappy, when they who condemned him are, for that action, delivered down as criminals to all future generations? when he quitted his country with greater ease than he would suffer his exile to finish? when he alone durst refuse the dictator Sylla, and being recalled home, not only declined to go, but fled farther off?

What do you propose, it may be said, by these examples, multitudes of which are to be collected

* There was another Apicius, in the reign of Tiberius, famous for his gluttony; and a third in the time of Trajan.

† Sen. L. De prov. cap. 3.

from the memorials of former ages? I propose to show, that as change of place, simply considered, can render no man unhappy, so the other evils which are objected to exile, either cannot happen to wise and virtuous men; or, if they do happen to them, cannot render them miserable. Stones are hard, and cakes of ice are cold: and all who feel them, feel them alike*. But the good or the bad events, which fortune brings upon us, are felt according to what qualities we, not they, have. They are in themselves indifferent and common accidents, and they acquire strength by nothing but our vice or our weakness. Fortune can dispense neither felicity nor infelicity unless we cooperate with her. Few men, who are unhappy under the loss of an estate, would be happy in the possession of it: and those, who deserve to enjoy the advantages which exile takes away, will not be unhappy when they are deprived of them.

It grieves me to make an exception to this rule; but Tully was one so remarkably, that the example can be neither concealed, nor passed over. This great man, who had been the saviour of his country, who had feared, in the support of that cause, neither the insults of a desperate party, nor the daggers of assassins, when he came to suffer for the same cause, sunk under the weight. He dishonoured that banishment, which indulgent providence meant to be the means of rendering his glory complete. Uncertain where he should

* Plut. On Exile.

go,

go, or what he should do, fearful as a woman, and froward as a child, he lamented the loss of his rank, of his riches, and of his splendid popularity. His eloquence served only to paint his ignominy in stronger colours. He wept over the ruins of his fine house, which Clodius had demolished: and his separation from Terentia, whom he repudiated not long afterward, was perhaps an affliction to him at this time. Every thing becomes intolerable to the man who is once subdued by grief*. He regrets what he took no pleasure in enjoying, and overloaded already, he shrinks at the weight of a feather. Cicero's behaviour, in short, was such that his friends, as well as his enemies, believed him to have lost his senses†. Cæsar beheld, with a secret satisfaction, the man, who had refused to be his lieutenant, weeping under the rod of Clodius. Pompey hoped to find some excuse for his own ingratitude in the contempt which the friend, whom he had abandoned, exposed himself to. Nay, Atticus judged him too meanly attached to his former fortune, and reproached him for it. Atticus, whose great talents were usury and trimming, who placed his principle merit in being rich, and who would have been noted with infamy at Athens, for keeping well with all sides, and venturing on none‡: even Atticus blushed for Tully, and

* Mitto cætera intolerabilia. Etenim fletu impedior. L. iii. Ad Attic. ep. 10.

† Tam sæpe, et tam vehementer objurgas, et animo infirmo esse dicis. Ib.

‡ Plut. Vit. Solon.

the

the most plausible man alive assumed the style of Cato.

I have dwelt the longer on this instance, because, while it takes nothing from the truth which has been established, it teaches us another of great importance. Wise men are certainly superior to all the evils of exile. But in a strict sense he, who has left any one passion in his soul unsubdued, will not deserve that appellation. It is not enough that we have studied all the duties of public and private life, that we are perfectly acquainted with them, and that we live up to them in the eye of the world: a passion that lies dormant in the heart, and has escaped our scrutiny, or which we have observed and indulged as venial, or which we have perhaps encouraged, as a principle to excite and to aid our virtue, may one time or other destroy our tranquillity, and disgrace our whole character. When virtue has steeled the mind on every side, we are invulnerable on every side: but Achilles was wounded in the heel. The least part, overlooked or neglected, may expose us to receive a mortal blow. Reason cannot obtain the absolute dominion of our souls by one victory. Vice has many reserves, which must be beaten; many strong holds, which must be forced; and we may be found of proof in many trials, without being so in all. We may resist the severest, and yield to the weakest attacks of fortune. We may have got the better of avarice, the most epidemical disease of the mind, and yet

be

be slaves to ambition*. We may have purged our souls of the fear of death, and yet some other fear may venture to lurk behind. This was the case of Cicero. Vanity was his cardinal vice †. It had, I question not, warmed his zeal, quickened his industry, animated the love of his country, and supported his constancy against Catiline: but it gave to Clodius an entire victory over him. He was not afraid to die, and part with estate, rank, honour, and every thing which he lamented the loss of: but he was afraid to live deprived of them. "Ut vivus hæc amitterem‡." He would probably have met death on this occasion with the same firmness with which he said to Popilius Lænus, his client and his murderer, "Approach, "veteran, and, if at least thou canst do this well, "cut off my head." But he could not bear to see himself, and to be seen by others, stripped of those trappings which he was accustomed to wear. This made him break out into so many shameful

* Seneca says the contrary of all this, according to the Stoical system, which however he departs from on many occasions. "Si contra unam quamlibet partem fortunæ satis tibi "roboris est, idem adversus omnes erit.—Si avaritia dimisit, "vehementissima generis humani pestis, moram tibi ambitio "non faciet. Si ultimum diem, &c." De Con. ad Hel.

Non singula vitia ratio, sed pariter omnia prosternit. In universum semel vincitur. Ib.

Nec audacem quidem timoris absolvimus: ne prodigum quidem avaritia liberamus. De Benef. L. iv. c. 27.

Qui autem habet vitium unum, habet omnia. Ib. L. v, c. 15.

† In animo autem gloriæ cupido, qualis fuit Ciceronis, plurimum potest. Vel. Pat. L. i.

‡ Ep. ad Attic. L. iii, ep. 3, 7, 10, et passim.

expressions.

expressions. "Possum oblivisci qui fuerim? non "sentire qui sim? quo caream honore? qua "gloria?" And speaking of his brother—"Vitavi "ne viderem; ne aut illius luctum squaloremque "aspicerem, aut me, quem ille florentissimum "reliquerat, perditum illi afflictumque offerrem*." He had thought of death, and prepared his mind for it. There were occasions too where his vanity might be flattered by it. But the same vanity hindered him in his prosperous estate from supposing such a reverse as afterward happened to him. When it came, it found him unprepared, it surprised him, it stunned him; for he was still fond of the pomp and hurry of Rome, "fumum "et opes, strepitumque Romæ," and unweaned from all those things which habit renders necessary, and which nature has left indifferent.

We have enumerated them above, and it is time to descend into a more particular examination of them. Change of place then may be borne by every man. It is the delight of many. But who can bear the evils which accompany exile? You who ask the question can bear them. Every one who considers them as they are in themselves, instead of looking at them through the false optick which prejudice holds before our eyes. For what? you have lost your estate: reduce your desires, and you will perceive yourself to be as rich as ever, with this considerable advantage to boot, that your cares will be dimi-

* L. iii, ep. 10, ad Attic.

nished.

nished. Our natural and real wants are confined to narrow bounds, while those which fancy and custom create are confined to none*. Truth lies within a little and certain compass, but errour is immense. If we suffer our desires therefore to wander beyond these bounds, they wander eternally. "Nescio quid curtæ semper abest rei." We become necessitous in the midst of plenty, and our poverty increases with our riches. Reduce your desires, be able to say with the apostle of Greece, to whom Erasmus was ready to address his prayers, "quam multis ipse non egeo!" banish out of your exile all imaginary, and you will suffer no real wants. The little stream which is left will suffice to quench the thirst of nature, and that which cannot be quenched by it, is not your thirst, but your distemper; a distemper formed by the vicious habits of your mind, and not the effect of exile. How great a part of mankind bear poverty with cheerfulness, because they have been bred in it, and are accustomed to it †? Shall we not be able to acquire by reason and by reflection, what the meanest artisan possesses by habit? Shall those, who have so many advantages over him, be slaves to wants and necessities, of

* Naturalia desideria finita sunt: ex falsa opinione nascentia ubi desinant non habent, nullus enim terminus falso est. Sen. Ep. 16.

Excerp. ex Lib. Sen. falsely so called.

Si ad naturam vives, nunquam eris pauper; si ad opinionem, nunquam dives. Exiguum natura desiderat, opinio immensum. Sen. Ep. 16.

† Sen. De Con. ad Hel.

which

which he is ignorant? The rich, whose wanton appetites neither the produce of one country, nor of one part of the world, can satisfy, for whom the whole habitable globe is ransacked, for whom the caravans of the east are continually in march, and the remotest seas are covered with ships; these pampered creatures, sated with superfluity, are often glad to inhabit an humble cot, and to make a homely meal. They run for refuge into the arms of frugality. Madmen that they are, to live always in fear of what they sometimes wish for, and to fly from that life which they find it luxury to imitate! Let us cast our eyes backwards on those great men who lived in the ages of virtue, of simplicity, of frugality, and let us blush to think, that we enjoy in banishment more than they were masters of in the midst of their glory, in the utmost affluence of their fortune. Let us imagine that we behold a great dictator giving audience to the Samnite ambassadors, and preparing on the hearth his mean repast with the same hand, which had so often subdued the enemies of the commonwealth, and borne the triumphal laurel to the Capitol. Let us remember that Plato had but three servants*, and that Zeno had none†. Socrates, the reformer of his country, was

* Plato's will, in Diog. Laer. mentions four servants, beside Diana, to whom he gave her freedom.

Apuleius makes his estate consist in a little garden near the academy, two servants, a patten for sacrifices, and as much gold as would serve to make ear-rings for a child.

† Zeno was owner of a thousand talents when he came from Cyprus

was maintained, as Menenius Agrippa, the arbiter of his country was buried, by contribution*. While Attilius Regulus beat the Carthaginians in Afric, the flight of his ploughman reduced his family to distress at home, and the tillage of his little farm became the public care. Scipio died without leaving enough to marry his daughters, and their portions were paid out of the treasury of the state; for sure it was just that the people of Rome should once pay tribute to him, who had established a perpetual tribute on Carthage. After such examples shall we be afraid of poverty? Shall we disdain to be adopted into a family which has so many illustrious ancestors? Shall we complain of banishment for taking from us what the greatest philosophers, and the greatest heroes of antiquity never enjoyed?

You will find fault perhaps, and attribute to artifice, that I consider singly misfortunes which come all together on the banished man, and overbear him with their united weight. You could support change of place, if it was not accompanied

Cyprus into Greece, and he used to lend his money out upon ships at a high interest. He kept, in short, a kind of insurance office. He had lost this estate perhaps when he said, "recte sane agit fortuna, quæ nos ad philosophiam impellit." Afterward he received many and great presents from Antigonus. So that his great frugality and simplicity of life was the effect of his choice, and not of necessity. See Dio. Laer.

* Diog. Laer. in Vit. Soc. quotes Aristoxenus for affirming, that Socrates used to keep a box, and lived upon the money which was put into it: "Posita igitur arcula, collegisse pecuniam quæ daretur; consumpta autem ea, rursus posuisse."

with

with poverty; or poverty, if it was not accompanied with the separation from your family and your friends, with the loss of your rank, consideration, and power, with contempt and ignominy. Whoever he be who reasons in this manner, let him take the following answer. The least of these circumstances is singly sufficient to render the man miserable who is not prepared for it, who has not divested himself of that passion upon which it is directed to work. But he who has got the mastery of all his passions, who has foreseen all these accidents, and prepared his mind to endure them all, will be superior to all of them, and to all of them at once as well as singly. He will not bear the loss of his rank, because he can bear the loss of his estate: but he will bear both, because he is prepared for both; because he is free from pride as much as he is from avarice.

You are separated from your family and your friends. Take the list of them, and look it well over. How few of your family will you find who deserve the name of friends? and how few among these who are really such? Erase the names of such as ought not to stand on the roll, and the voluminous catalogue will soon dwindle into a narrow compass. Regret, if you please, your separation from this small remnant. Far be it from me, while I declaim against a shameful and vicious weakness of mind, to proscribe the sentiments of a virtuous friendship. Regret your separation from your friends: but regret it like a man who deserves to be theirs. This is strength, not weakness of mind; it is virtue, not vice.

But the least uneasiness under the loss of the rank which we held is ignominious. There is no valuable rank among men, but that which real merit assigns. The princes of the Earth may give names, and institute ceremonies, and exact the observation of them; their imbecility and their wickedness may prompt them to clothe fools and knaves with robes of honour, and emblems of wisdom and virtue: but no man will be in truth superior to another, without superior merit; and that rank can no more be taken from us, than the merit which establishes it. The supreme authority gives a fictitious and arbitrary value to coin, which is therefore not current alike in all times and in all places; but the real value remains invariable, and the provident man, who gets rid as fast as he can of the drossy piece, hoards up the good silver. Thus merit will not procure the same consideration universally. But what then? the title to this consideration is the same, and will be found alike in every circumstance by those who are wise and virtuous themselves. If it is not owned by such as are otherwise, nothing is however taken from us; we have no reason to complain. They considered us for a rank which we had; for our denomination, not for our intrinsic value. We have that rank, that denomination no longer, and they consider us no longer: they admired in us what we admired not in ourselves. If they learn to neglect us, let us learn to pity them. Their assiduity was importunate: let us not complain of the ease which

this change procures us; let us rather apprehend the return of that rank and that power, which, like a sunny day, would bring back these little insects, and make them swarm once more about us. I know how apt we are, under specious pretences, to disguise our weaknesses and our vices, and how often we succeed not only in deceiving the world, but even in deceiving ourselves. An inclination to do good is inseparable from a virtuous mind, and therefore the man, who cannot bear with patience the loss of that rank and power which he enjoyed, may be willing to attribute his regrets to the impossibility which he supposes himself reduced to of satisfying this inclination. But let such a one know, that a wise man contents himself with doing as much good as his situation allows him to do; that there is no situation wherein we may not do a great deal; and that when we are deprived of greater power to do more good, we escape at the same time the temptation of doing some evil*.

The inconveniencies, which we have mentioned, carry nothing along with them difficult to be borne by a wise and virtuous man; and those which remain to be mentioned, contempt and ignominy, can never fall to his lot. It is impossible that he who reverences himself should be despised by others: and how can ignominy affect the man who collects all his strength within himself, who appeals from the judgment of the multitude to another tribunal, and lives independent of man-

* Sen. De Con. ad Hel.

kind

kind and of the accidents of life? Cato lost the election of prætor, and that of consul; but is any one blind enough to truth to imagine that these repulses reflected any disgrace on him? The dignity of those two magistracies would have been increased by his wearing them. They suffered, not Cato.

You have fulfilled all the duties of a good citizen, you have been true to your trust, constant in your engagements, and have pursued the interest of your country without regard to the enemies you created, and the dangers you run. You severed her interest, as much as lay in your power, from those of her factions, and from those of her neighbours and allies too, when they became different. She reaps the benefit of these services, and you suffer for them. You are banished, and pursued with ignominy, and those whom you hindered from triumphing at her expense, revenge themselves at yours. The persons, in opposition to whom you served, or even saved the public, conspire and accomplish your private ruin. These are your accusers, and the giddy ungrateful crowd your judges. Your name is hung up in the tables of proscription, and art joined to malice endeavours to make your best actions pass for crimes, and to stain your character. For this purpose the sacred voice of the senate is made to pronounce a lie, and those records, which ought to be the eternal monuments of truth, become the vouchers of imposture and calumny. Such circumstances as these you think

intolerable, and you would prefer death to so ignominious an exile. Deceive not yourself. The ignominy remains with them who persecute unjustly, not with him who suffers unjust persecution. "Recalcitrat undique tutus." Suppose that in the act which banishes you, it was declared that you have some contagious distemper, that you are crooked, or otherwise deformed. This would render the legislators ridiculous*. The other renders them infamous. But neither one nor the other can affect the man, who in a healthful well proportioned body enjoys a conscience void of all the offences ascribed to him. Instead of such an exile, would you compound, that you might live at home in ease and plenty, to be the instrument of blending these contrary interests once more together, and of giving but the third place to that of your country? Would you prostitute her power to the ambition of others, under the pretence of securing her from imaginary dangers, and drain her riches into the pockets of the meanest and vilest of her citizens, under the pretence of paying her debts? If you could submit to so infamous a composition, you are not the man to whom I address my discourse, or with whom I will have any commerce: and if you have virtue enough to disdain it, why should you repine at the other alternative? Banishment from such a country, and with such circumstances, is like being delivered from prison. Diogenes was driven

* The dialogne between Cicero and Philiscus. Dion. Cass. L. xxxviii.

out of the kingdom of Pontus for counterfeiting the coin, and Stratonicus thought that forgery might be committed in order to get banished from Seriphus. But you have obtained your liberty by doing your duty.

Banishment, with all it's train of evils, is so far from being the cause of contempt, that he who bears up with an undaunted spirit against them, while so many are dejected by them, erects on his very misfortunes a trophy to his honour: for such is the frame and temper of our minds, that nothing strikes us with greater admiration than a man intrepid in the midst of misfortunes. Of all ignominies an ignominious death must be allowed to be the greatest; and yet where is the blasphemer who will presume to defame the death of Socrates*? This saint entered the prison with the same countenance with which he reduced thirty tyrants, and he took off ignominy from the place: for how could it be deemed a prison when Socrates was there? Phocion was led to execution in the same city. All those who met the sad procession, cast their eyes to the ground, and with throbbing hearts bewailed, not the innocent man, but justice herself, who was in him condemned. Yet there was a wretch found, for monsters are sometimes produced in contradiction to the ordinary rules of nature, who spit in his face as he passed along. Phocion wiped his cheek, smiled, turned to the magistrate, and said, "Admonish this man "not to be so nasty for the future."

* Sen. De Con. ad Hel.

Ignominy then can take no hold on virtue*; for virtue is in every condition the same, and challenges the same respect. We applaud the world, when she prospers; and when she falls into adversity, we applaud her. Like the temples of the Gods, she is venerable even in her ruins. After this must it not appear a degree of madness, to defer one moment acquiring the only arms capable of defending us against attacks, which at every moment we are exposed to? Our being miserable, or not miserable, when we fall into misfortunes, depends on the manner in which we have enjoyed prosperity. If we have applied ourselves betimes to the study of wisdom, and to the practice of virtue, these evils become indifferent; but if we have neglected to do so, they become necessary. In one case they are evils, in the other they are remedies for greater evils than themselves. Zeno† rejoiced that a shipwreck had thrown him on the Athenian coast: and he owed to the loss of his fortune the acquisition which he made of virtue, of wisdom, of immortality. There are good and bad airs for the mind, as well as for the body. Prosperity often irritates our chronical distempers, and leaves no hopes of finding any specific but in adversity. In such cases banishment is like change of air, and the evils we suffer are like rough medicines applied to inveterate diseases. What Anacharsis‡ said of the vine, may aptly enough be said of pro-

* Sen. De Con. ad Hel. † Diog. Laert.

‡ Sen.

sperity.

sperity. She bears the three grapes of drunkenness, of pleasure, and of sorrow: and happy it is if the last can cure the mischief which the former work. When afflictions fail to have their due effect, the case is desperate. They are the last remedy which indulgent Providence uses: and if they fail, we must languish and die in misery and contempt. Vain men! how seldom do we know what to wish or to pray for! When we pray against misfortunes, and when we fear them most, we want them most. It was for this reason that Pythagoras forbid his disciples to ask any thing in particular of God. The shortest and best prayer which we can address to him, who knows our wants, and our ignorance in asking, is this: "Thy will be done."

Tully says, in some part of his works, that as happiness is the object of all philosophy, so the disputes among philosophers arise from their different notions of the sovereign good. Reconcile them in that point, you reconcile them in the rest. The school of Zeno placed this sovereign good in naked virtue, and wound the principle up to an extreme beyond the pitch of nature and truth. A spirit of opposition to another doctrine, which grew into great vogue while Zeno flourished, might occasion this excess. Epicurus placed the sovereign good in pleasure. His terms were wilfully, or accidentally mistaken. His scholars might help to pervert his doctrine, but rivalship inflamed the dispute; for in truth there is not so much difference between stoicism reduced to

reasonable intelligible terms, and genuine orthodox epicurism, as is imagined. The felicis animi immota tranquillitas, and the voluptas of the latter are near enough akin: and I much doubt whether the firmest hero of the Portique would have borne a fit of the stone, on the principles of Zeno, with greater magnanimity and patience than Epicurus did, on those of his own philosophy*. However, Aristotle took a middle way, or explained himself better, and placed happiness in the joint advantages of the mind, of the body, and of fortune. They are reasonably joined; but certain it is, that they must not be placed on an equal foot. We can much better bear the privation of the last, than of the others; and poverty itself, which mankind is so afraid of "per "mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes," is surely preferable to madness, or the stone, though †Chrysippus thought it better to live mad, than not to live! If banishment therefore, by taking from us the advantages of fortune, cannot take from us the more valuable advantages of the mind and the body, when we have them; and if the same accident is able to restore them to us, when we have lost them, banishment is a very slight misfortune to those who are already under

* Compare the representations made so frequently of the doctrine of volupty taught by Epicurus, with the account which he himself gives, in his letter to Menœceus, of the sense wherein he understood this word. Vid. Diog. Laert.

† In his third book of nature, cited by Plutarch, in the treatise on the contradictions of the Stoics.

the

the dominion of reason, and a very great blessing to those who are still plunged in vices which ruin the health both of body and mind. It is to be wished for, in favour of such as these, and to be feared by none. If we are in this case, let us second the designs of Providence in our favour, and make some amends for neglecting former opportunities by not letting slip the last. "Si "nolis sanus, curres hydropicus". We may shorten the evils which we might have prevented, and as we get the better of our disorderly passions, and vicious habits, we shall feel our anxiety diminish in proportion. All the approaches to virtue are comfortable. With how much joy will the man, who improves his misfortunes in this manner, discover that those evils, which he attributed to his exile, sprung from his vanity and folly, and vanish with them! He will see that, in his former temper of mind, he resembled the effeminate prince who could drink* no water but that of the river Choaspes; or the simple queen, in one of the tragedies of Euripides, who complained bitterly, that she had not lighted the nuptial torch, and that the river Ismenus had not furnished the water at her son's wedding. Seeing his former state in this ridiculous light, he will labour on with pleasure towards another as contrary as possible to it; and when he arrives there, he will be convinced by the strongest of all proofs, his own experience, that he was unfortunate because he was vicious, not because he was banished.

* Plut. On banishment.

If

If I was not afraid of being thought to refine too much, I would venture to put some advantages of fortune, which are due to exile, into the scale against those which we lose by exile. One there is which has been neglected even by great and wise men. Demetrius Phalereus, after his expulsion from Athens, became first minister to the king of Egypt; and Themistocles found such a reception at the court of Persia, that he used to say his fortune had been lost if he had not been ruined. But Demetrius exposed himself, by his favour under the first Ptolemy, to a new disgrace under the second: and Themistocles, who had been the captain of a free people, became the vassal of the prince he had conquered. How much better is it to take hold of the proper advantage of exile, and to live for ourselves, when we are under no obligation of living for others? Similis, a captain of great reputation under Trajan and Adrian, having obtained leave to retire, passed seven years in his retreat, and then dying, ordered this inscription to be put on his tomb: that he had been many years on earth, but that he had lived only seven*. If you are wise, your leisure will be worthily employed, and your retreat will add new lustre to your character. Imitate Thucydides in Thracia, or Xenophon in his little farm at Scillus. In such a retreat you may sit down, like one of the inhabitants of Elis, who judged of the Olympic games, without taking any part in them. Far from the hurry of the

* Xiphil.

world,

world, and almost an unconcerned spectator of what passes in it, having paid in a public life what you owed to the present age, pay in a private life what you owe to posterity. Write as you live, without passion; and build your reputation, as you build your happiness, on the foundations of truth. If you want the talents, the inclination, or the necessary materials for such a work, fall not however into sloth. Endeavour to copy after the example of Scipio at Linternum. Be able to say to yourself,

"Innocuas amo delicias doctamque quietem."

Rural amusements, and philosophical meditations, will make your hours glide smoothly on; and if the indulgence of Heaven has given you a friend like Lælius, nothing is wanting to make you completely happy.

These are some of those reflections which may serve to fortify the mind under banishment, and under the other misfortunes of life, which it is every man's interest to prepare for, because they are common to all men *: I say they are common to all men; because even they who escape them are equally exposed to them. The darts of adverse fortune are always levelled at our heads. Some reach us, some graze against us, and fly to wound our neighbours. Let us therefore impose an equal temper on our minds, and pay without murmuring the tribute which we owe to humanity.

* Sen. Ep. 107.

The

The winter brings cold, and we must freeze. The summer returns with heat, and we must melt. The inclemency of the air disorders our health, and we must be sick. Here we are exposed to wild beasts, and there to men more savage than the beasts: and if we escape the inconveniencies and dangers of the air and the earth, there are perils by water and perils by fire. This established course of things it is not in our power to change; but it is in our power to assume such a greatness of mind as becomes wise and virtuous men; as may enable us to encounter the accidents of life with fortitude, and to conform ourselves to the order of nature, who governs her great kingdom, the world, by continual mutations. Let us submit to this order, let us be persuaded that whatever does happen ought to happen, and never be so foolish as to expostulate with nature. The best resolution we can take is to suffer what we cannot alter, and to pursue, without repining, the road which Providence, who directs every thing, has marked out to us: for it is not enough to follow; and he is but a bad soldier who sighs, and marches on with reluctancy. We must receive the orders with spirit and cheerfulness, and not endeavour to slink out of the post which is assigned us in this beautiful disposition of things, whereof even our sufferings make a necessary part. Let us address ourselves to God, who governs all, as Cleanthes did in those admirable verses, which are going to lose part of their grace and energy in my translation of them.

Parent

Parent of nature! Master of the World!
Where'er thy Providence directs, behold
My steps with cheerful resignation turn.
Fate leads the willing, drags the backward on.
Why should I grieve, when grieving I must bear?
Or take with guilt, what guiltless I might share?

Thus let us speak, and thus let us act. Resignation to the will of God is true magnanimity. But the sure mark of a pusillanimous and base spirit is to struggle against, to censure the order of Providence, and, instead of mending our own conduct, to set up for correcting that of our Maker.

THE

OCCASIONAL WRITER.

Fidens animi atque in utrumque paratus.

VIRG.

THE

OCCASIONAL WRITER.

NUMBER I.

Inscribed to the PERSON, to whom alone it can belong.

Most Noble Sir,

I AM one, whose ambition it hath been, ever since I came into the world, to distinguish myself as a writer; in which, I fairly confess, I had not only the view of raising my reputation, but that of establishing my fortune. A prospect, which seemed very reasonable in a time of general peace and universal affluence; in an age so particularly polite, that it is even the fashion to appear knowing in all the elegant arts and sciences; and that to whatever branch of them a genius shall think fit to turn himself, he is sure it will be to one that is in vogue.

The first essays of my pen made a good deal of noise in the world: they filled foreign journals, and were translated into several languages. The Sorbonne, and both our mother Universities, returned me thanks for having reconciled several disputes, and solved several difficulties in chronology and history, which had perplexed the

learned world, from the impartial Eusebius, down to the circumstantial Prideaux; my philosophical Poems were received with the greatest applause; and it is well known, that if the gay part of the world read my Anti-Lucretius for amusement, the gravest divines have not disdained to borrow arguments from it in their disputes with the materialists.

Animated by such success, in one part of my aim, I proceeded with indefatigable labour, till continual disappointments, in the other, rendered me at length more indifferent to that imaginary good, applause, and less patient of that real evil, want. I began then to compare my condition with that of several great authors both ancient and modern; and finding upon the comparison that they had not been better treated than myself, I was soon led by my reflections to discover the true reason of our ill fortune in the world; I was soon convinced that they and I had been on a wrong pursuit; that ministers of state pay no respect to the brightest talents, when they are misapplied, and esteem all talents to be so, which are not wholly employed about the present time, and principally dedicated to the service of their administration; neither can I say this proceeding is unjust, how much soever I suffer by it.

If we write for posterity, we must not complain that the care of rewarding our merit is left to posterity; and if we neglect to serve the state, those, who are appointed to preside over it, break no rule of equity when they neglect us. Spencer has

has been amply recompensed by posterity for his Fairy Queen; but the wise treasurer Burleigh declined the payment of a hundred pounds, which Queen Elizabeth ordered him, and left this admirable poet to starve. Had Spencer applied himself to more serious studies, had he excelled in physics, in metaphysics, or even in the first philosophy, or in theology, instead of excelling in wit and poetry, the "amabiles insaniæ" of Horace, his usage would have been the same no doubt. Even the greatest productions of these studies are but trifles in the account of a consummate statesman, and may properly enough be distinguished from the others, in his sense, by the title of "insaniæ severiores."

Our English ministers, to their honour be it spoken, have at all times proceeded upon this admirable principle; the most excellent sermons, the most elaborate treatises, have not been sufficient to procure the advancement of some divines, while a sorry pamphlet or a spiritual libel has raised others to the highest dignities of the church. As it has fared with mere divinity, so has it fared with mere eloquence: as one never caused the divine, so the other never caused the lawyer to be distinguished. But we know that if either of them be employed in a court cause, he never fails of making his fortune. The same fate has attended writers of another kind; the celebrated Tatlers, and Spectators, had no reward except from booksellers and fame. But when those authors made the discovery I have made, and

applied their talents better, in writing the Englishman and the Freeholder, one was soon created a knight, and the other became secretary of state. In short, without enumerating any more instances, I may confidently affirm, that this has been the case from the days of Burleigh to this time; how much sooner it began to be so, I hope, sir, you will not give me the leisure to inquire.

From the moment I resolved to become a state writer, I mentally devoted myself to your service: and I do it now in this publick and most solemn manner. Employ me, sir, as you please; I abandon myself intirely to you; my pen is at your disposition, and my conscience in your keeping. Like a lawyer, I am ready to support the cause, in which, give me leave to suppose that, I shall be soon retained, with ardour; and, if occasion be, with subtilty and acrimony. Like a Swiss, I will behave myself with equal boldness and fidelity; my pen is my fortune, and I think it as honourable to offer it, as offer my sword, without inquiring in a general battle, or in private skirmishes, at what relation or friend I strike. I cancel at once all former obligations and friendship, and will most implicitly follow your instructions in panegyrick on yourself and friends, in satire on your adversaries, in writing for or against any subject; nay, in writing for or against the same subject, just as your interest, or even your passions, may render it expedient.

I am not ignorant, that when Carneades offered to argue for virtue, and then against it, Cato pro-

posed to drive that great philisopher and orator out of Rome. But Cato was a man of narrow principles, and of too confined an understanding. He considered virtue abstractedly, without any regard to time, to place, and to that vast variety of conjunctures, which happens in the course of human affairs. In common life, morality is no doubt necessary, and therefore legislators have been careful to enforce the practice of it; but whenever morality clashes with the interest of the state, it must be, and it always has been laid aside. These are my opinions: and it is a great comfort to my conscience to find them confirmed by the practice of some reverend persons, whose examples ought to be of greater weight with me, than that of a wretched pagan. I shall therefore show myself neither squeamish nor whimsical in pursuing the enterprise to which I offer my services, but shall remain firmly persuaded, that all the moral vices, I may be occasionally guilty of in so good a course, will be exalted into political virtues.

After this plain and honest account, which I have given of myself, it may be allowed me to say, that you cannot find a person better qualified for your service, or more worthy to be listed among those who draw their pens in your cause; and of whom I am willing to hope that you have a greater and an abler body in reserve, than you have hitherto judged proper to bring into the field.

It is evident, that a minister, in every circumstance of life, stands in as much need of us publick

writers, as we of him. In his prosperity he can no more subsist without daily praise, than we without daily bread, and the farther he extends his views the more necessary are we to his support. Let him speak as contemptuously of us as he pleases, for that is frequently the manner of those who employ us most, and pay us best; yet will it fare with his ambition as with a lofty tree, which cannot shoot it's branches into the clouds, unless it's root work into the dirt, from which it rose, on which it stands, and by which it is nourished.

If a minister falls into adversity, shall he take up the pen in his own defence? would not the case be as deplorable for him to be left to write, as for a prince to be left to fight in his own quarrel? Believe me, sir, whenever fortune abandons you, and who knows how soon that may happen, you will find yourself in a very forlorn state. At the name of your successor, those crowds, that attend your levee, will vanish like spirits at the dawn of day. None will remain about you, but such as no other administration will condescend to employ: and we may therefore very probably behold you, which would be a pitiful sight indeed, endeavouring to secure a safe retreat with H***** on one side of you, and L****** on the other, two grotesque personages, exactly paired and nearly allied, but surely as little fit to support a minister in his decline, as to adorn his triumph. In such a turn as this, you may depend on my utmost efforts to keep up a spirit for you: and I

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can make no doubt of being seconded by several of my fellow-writers, since I am certain you will not scruple to share some part of that fortune, which your industry and parsimony have raised, with those who unite to save the whole; and since we shall be reasonable enough not to expect above sixpence in the pound out of it, which cannot well amount to more than fifteen or twenty thousand pounds. A trifling sum for so great a service and so weighty a purse!

You may perhaps, after all I have said, be still apt to think that these are wild discourses, which have no other foundation but my desire to render myself necessary. You may refine too much in your reflections on my conduct, and too little in those you make on your present situation; or if you judge rightly of this, it is not impossible but you may depend too much on your own vigilance and dexterity. Should any of those flatterers, who often betray their patrons into a fatal security, speak to you much in the same manner, as Sleep addresses himself to Palinurus in the fifth book of the Æneis:

—— Palinure, ferunt ipsa æquora classem,
Æquatæ spirant auræ, datur hora quieti;
Pone caput, fessosque oculos furare labori.

You would answer, I am persuaded, as this Pilot did:

Mene salis placidi vultum, fluctusque quietos
Ignorare jubes? mene huic confidere monstro?

But Palinurus slept, and you know the consequence.

Be not therefore displeased if a sincere and zealous servant rouses you, admonishes you not to trust too much to appearances, and shows you danger when perhaps you least expect it. You have sailed long in a smooth sea with gentle and favourable gales. We believe your courage and your abilities extremely great, but we believe it implicitly; for you have not had foul weather enough to give any considerable proofs of either. These circumstances, which might be abused to inspire security, I urge as reasons why you should be alarmed; for the element you have to deal with is by the laws of nature inconstant: and therefore the longer you have been without a storm, the more reason you have to expect one. There is no surer presage of a hurricane, than just such a dead calm as I have observed for some time.

To speak without a figure: I would not have you flatter yourself, that the undisturbed quiet you have so long enjoyed is merely owing to your own integrity and political merit, or to the uncommon prosecution of hawkers and pamphleteers, which has been carried on by the direction of one of your principal instruments, and indeed a most vigorous statesman. This quiet, sir, is owing to deep and inveterate designs, which it becomes me to lay before you, without any regard to the censure I may incur, of revealing

private

private conversation, and of breach of trust. Know then, that from the time you came into a fulness of power, many were shocked at the manner in which you seized it, and at the use you made of it. They said that both were hurtful, indecent, and even shameless. They went still farther, and affirmed, that your conduct was foolish with regard to your own interest, since it was foolish for a man to trust to one single expedient of government, who had several in his power; and especially to such an expedient as that of money, which would equally serve to support him or to hang him. These persons however, notwithstanding their discontent, resolved to lie quiet, till your maleadministration should become so glaring as to justify their opposition, even in his majesty's sight: they said they would not follow your example; and upon that occasion they remembered with some sharpness how you did your utmost to distress the king's affairs, upon the first disgust you received; nay they were malicious enough to call to mind some personal reflections*, which the heat of your imagination, and your familiarity with majesty, betrayed you into, and for which they saucily wished what I dare not name. These seditious spirits flattered themselves, that you would do your own business when you had the full swing of your power. They were acquainted, they said, with the presumption

* See a pamphlet called An Answer to an infamous Libel, entitled, Sedition and Defamation displayed. Printed for R. Francklin.

and

and distrust, with the boldness and pusillanimity, with the indiscretion and cunning, and with fifty other contradictions, which made up your character: and upon these they depended for putting a speedy end to your administration. This end they imagine to be now at hand: for thus they reason. A minister, who is attacked on his management of the public revenue, and has all the advantages of money and authority on his side, may escape though he is guilty; but if he is innocent, the proceedings against him in such a case must necessarily confirm his power, and establish his reputation: nothing more desirable than such an attack can happen to him. But our present minister, say these malignants, directly stops all inquiry: in public he evades giving such accounts as the representatives of the people have a right to demand; in private he is modest and discreet enough to laugh at those who think him such a fool as to furnish proofs against himself. Can a minister keep his ground long, who has no other defence than an implied confession of his guilt? will such a behaviour be endured in a nation hitherto free, and where there remain at least some sparks of honour and of love of the country?

These and many other reflections, which for brevity sake I omit, upon your particular conduct, and upon our domestic affairs, are frequently thrown out. But, sir, I confess to you, that I tremble when I hear the same persons discourse concerning the state of the nation with regard to her

her foreign interests. They affirm and they offer to demonstrate, that the affairs of Europe never were in greater confusion, and that the part we take upon ourselves is such a one, as no nation ever acted which was not betrayed, or whose ministers were not infatuated. That you are so, they say, is past dispute, whether you have conducted these affairs yourself, or have left them to those men of eminent talents, who are concerned in this part of your administration: they insist that nothing could have happened to us, if you had intirely neglected our foreign interests, worse than what you have brought upon us, by running into the other extreme. For they ask, what is the fruit of your continual negotiations, supported by a vast expense, and carried on as busily as if the welfare of Great Britain had been at stake in every dispute which has happened on the continent? They answer for you, and they defy you to contradict them, that we have made the quarrels of other people our own; and that we find ourselves engaged as principals, in some cases where we have but a very remote concern, and in others where we have no concern at all. That our commerce suffers and runs the risk of being lost, not for a time, but for ever, in several branches, much more beneficial to us than the Ostend trade; and that our right to keep those important possessions, which were yielded to us in the most solemn and authentic manner, is come, by dint of negotiation, from being indisputable, to be called in question. In a word, that to

restore

restore the publick tranquillity, and to settle our own interests, we must engage in a new war and conclude a new peace: that you have contrived to make it impossible for us to do one, without fighting against the very principle for which we have fought ever since the revolution, or to attempt the other without lying under the particular circumstance, that our principal allies will be as much in earnest as our enemies to wrest out of our hands the chief advantages which we obtained by the treaty of Utrecht. At the time when these treaties were made, continue they, your great minister cried aloud and spared not. He complained, as much as any man, that the exorbitant power of France was not sufficiently reduced; and that the barriers of our allies, on the Rhine and in the Netherlands, were left too weak: and is it under his administration that we are to see a pretence given to the French, and an opportunity thrown into their hands, of strengthening their power, and of extending their barriers? When I tell these objectors that your brother answers for the court of France, they laugh in my face, and reply, "Well he may, and so might any of those, who were in the French interest, have done at the time when the triple alliance was broken, and France was encouraged by England to fall upon the Dutch." The ministers, who are answered for, would be as weak as he, who answers for them, if they did not see the advantage in the present juncture, and did not take a secret malicious pleasure in making us, who contributed

so much to reduce their power, become the instruments of raising it again. In the case of a war then, we have, according to this reasoning, which really, sir, has an air of truth, nothing so much to fear as the assistance of our chief ally; and in the case of a treaty, not only France, but Holland likewise, must be against us in that important article of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, and in all particular advantages of commerce, which we have enjoyed, and may find it reasonable to pretend to. The late duke of Orleans, as dear a friend as he was to us, insisted strenuously, that we should give up the places before mentioned; pretended a promise to this effect, and himself obliged in honour to see this promise kept. Every one, who knows any thing of the transactions of those times, knows with how envious an eye the Dutch beheld the separate privileges in trade, and the sole possession of Gibraltar, and of the island of Minorca, which we obtained at the last peace; and what lengths they would have gone to facilitate the negotiations, which at that time they opposed, if they might have been admitted to a share in these advantages.

The danger of an immediate invasion, and the engagements entered into by the emperor and the king of Spain to insult us with their fleets, and to conquer Great Britain and Ireland for the pretender, have been very industriously propagated by those, who are already in your pay, and

by

by me, who stand a candidate for this honour, but am hitherto a volunteer in your service. I am sorry to tell you, sir, but Heaven forbid that I should conceal so material a circumstance from your knowledge, we do not succeed. We raise a spirit, but this spirit turns against you. There are more people than ever against the pretender; and zeal for supporting the present establishment never ran higher. But this zeal is not any longer without knowledge: it is directed to it's proper object, and there is no possibility of leading it hoodwinked to serve any other purposes. Some incredulous wretches there are, who smile when we talk to them of invasions and the pretender, and who content themselves to reply, that the machine is very seasonably introduced, and according to the rules of art. The greater number take fire, and lay this new distress, which we threaten them with, at your door; for, they say, that we disobliged Spain some years ago, to tie the emperor the more firmly to us, and that we have since that time disobliged the emperor, by affecting a closer correspondence, and greater union of councils with France, than ever was known between the two nations. They send us to that excellent treatise, "The Barrier Treaty vindicated," to learn our true and lasting interest in foreign alliances, and there they pretend that we shall find the condemnation of all your measures: they lament the miserable scene, which they apprehend may soon be opened, his majesty's foreign

foreign dominions exposed to all the calamities of war, and perhaps in danger of being lost; we ourselves struggling against domestic enemies, and defending our coasts against invasions: these mischiefs brought upon us by a conjunction of the emperor, our old ally, with the king of Spain his rival; a conjunction so unnatural, that nothing but the highest resentment at our behaviour to them both could have brought it about: in short, to finish up the picture, Great Britain reduced in this distress to lean solely upon France, and the faith of that court to become our chief security.

Upon the whole matter, your enemies, sir, the substance of whose private conversation I have now honestly reported to you, conclude very insolently that you have filled up the measure of your iniquity and your folly, and that you must sink, or the nation must sink under the weight of that calamity which you have brought and suffered to be brought upon her.

As shocking as this account must be to your ears, I promise myself that the sincerity and plainness with which I have given it, will be agreeable to you; and that you will receive into your bosom a man whose affection for your person and zeal for your service must be above all suspicion, after giving you intelligence of so high a nature, without any stipulation for the discovery.

I expect

I expect to hear from you in eight days from the date hereof; if I do not, you shall hear again from him, who is,

Most noble Sir,

Your honour's

most devoted servant,

THE OCCASIONAL WRITER.

From my Garret,
Jan. 1726-7.

THE

OCCASIONAL WRITER.

NUMBER II.

To the Same.

Most Noble Sir,

I THINK myself obliged in honour to let the world know, that you have treated all my proposals to write in your service with a contempt unusual from one in your station; for I have seen the times, when every little paltry prostitute of his pen found countenance and encouragement These wretches are sure of both, whenever there are any bad measures to be justified, or any bold strokes to be given; and the croaking of these ravens has always, in my imagination, boded some mischief or other to the commonwealth.

For this reason I took upon me the character of a most infamous libeller, in my first address to you, that I might be able to make a surer judgment of our present condition, and know better what expectations to entertain; so that I own I am most agreeably disappointed in not receiving any letter or message from you. I own, that, instead of biting you, I am fairly bit myself.

Some malicious refiners may pretend, perhaps, that an address of such a nature, made in so publick a manner, could meet with no other treatment, even from a minister who was willing to accept the proposal. Malice, I say, may refine thus, and endeavour to depreciate a virtuous action, which cannot be denied, by supposing such motives to it as cannot be proved. The practice is too common, and especially where men are divided into parties, where public disputes create and nourish private animosities, and where perpetual feuds irritate the natural malignity of the heart. But far be it from me to judge with so little charity; I am willing to believe, sir, that you declined the offers made you, not on account of the publick address, by which they were conveyed, but because you disdained to support a virtuous administration by a venal pen.

When I meet a man with loaded pistols in his pocket, or a dagger under his cloak, I suspect that he is going upon no very honourable designs. Housebreakers and coiners have been detected, by having their tools found about them. Informers, spies, and hireling scribblers are the tools of an evil statesman; and when I see all such discouraged, and none of them about a minister, I think myself obliged to suppose, that his designs are honourable, and his measures directed to the publick good.

I take this opportunity therefore of begging your pardon for the trial I presumed to make. The liberty indeed was great; but since it has

turned

turned so vastly to your honour, I hope to be the more easily forgiven. Shall I own it, sir? my hopes go still farther; you disdained me under the feigned character which I assumed; from the same principle of honour, from the same consciousness of merit, you will, nay, you must afford me some share of your esteem, when I appear, as I intend to do for the future, under my own. These papers shall breathe nothing but zeal to promote the honour of his majesty, the security of our present happy establishment, and in one word, the good of our country. The same spirit, which animates you and me, shall animate them: and I cannot doubt of your approbation, when I cooperate with you to these purposes, which were certainly the sole inducements you had to enter into business; as it is manifest that you continue at the head of affairs for no other reasons.

The truth is, however, (for I think it becoming a friendship, which is likely to grow as intimate as ours, that I should disguise nothing from you) two things have lately happened, which gave some little shock to my good opinion of you. The first is an unwillingness you manifested, that the true state of the national debts should be known by the nation; and the severe censure you passed on such persons, as were desirous to give their countrymen a fair account of their condition in a part so essential, that our being a nation, or not a nation, depends almost entirely, in this crisis, on our running or not running farther into debt.

The other is the publication of a pamphlet supposed to be written by your direction, which is evidently designed to keep us no less in the dark as to all our affairs abroad.

As to the first, that matter has been taken up already; and will, I doubt not, in all places, and in all manners, be so thoroughly sifted, that we shall no longer be at a loss, either as to the revenue, and the real charges upon it, or as to the whole management of it. In which examination, sir, let me advise you, as a friend, to act an ingenuous part, that suspicions may not increase, and that I may not be obliged to write to you in a style, to which I shall turn my pen with reluctancy.

As to the latter, I hope, it will be likewise examined; and if I was able to take such a task on myself, I should, I am persuaded, in doing so, but make a second trial of you to your glory, and knit the bands of our friendship the closer, by answering a pamphlet of so pernicious consequence, and writ with so ill a design. But I know my own unfitness to inform, to instruct, and to rouse our countrymen, some from their lethargy, and some from their golden dreams. I may toll the alarm-bell, but persons of greater strength and skill must be called upon to raise it, and to ring it out in the ears of the nation.

We are grown more easy, nay, more willing than ever, to be imposed upon; and we do more than half the work of those who find their account

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in deluding us. Almost every man considers himself as a single person; those few, who extend their considerations farther, seldom or never carry them beyond the narrow system of a family, or a party. And thus it happens, that private interest is become the criterion, by which judgments are formed upon publick affairs. The man, whoever he be, who is at any time in fashion, has nothing to do but to hold out that purse, which the more he empties it, the surer he is to fill. After which let him declaim imperiously, and assert boldly, without regarding proof, or condescending to argue; let one of his tools write a pamphlet in much the same strain, and the work is done, the opinion of mankind is settled, the crowd repeats what the orator has said, and the author writ; the clamour is echoed back on all sides, and these echoes, the reverse of all others, strengthen by repetition. Thus the corrupt lead the blind, and the blind lead one another; the still voice of reason is drowned in popular clamour, and truth is overwhelmed by prejudice.

This is a true account of what happens frequently; it is so far from being a description drawn from imagination, that I could give several instances, and perhaps shall have occasion to quote some, of such gross impositions on the common sense of mankind, offered in this manner, and offered with success, as no one would be bold enough to attempt putting on the weakest man in Britain in private conversation.

There are therefore, God knows, but too many reasons for him to despond, who entertains a thought of prevailing on the generality of people, to lay aside their prejudices, to check their passions, and to consider the state of the nation in a due extent, and in a true light; and yet such is our condition, such a crisis are we in, that if we do not take and execute this resolution now, it may very probably be out of our power to do it hereafter to any good purpose.

In our senate we hear of great dangers, which we have to apprehend from abroad; and if we believe what is said in a foreign state*, we are exposed to very great ones at home. I am willing to hope, that both one and the other are magnified; but they may grow to be such in reality as they are represented to be, if we do not take more than ordinary care, first, to weigh in a just balance each of the many evils which threaten the nation; and secondly, if we do not penetrate into every one of the causes, which have combined to bring them upon us. Should we fail in the first point, we may increase our dangers from abroad; by overrating those at home, and by applying ourselves solely to prevent the latter. But I believe no one thinks us disposed to run into this extreme; we are much more likely to run into the other, and to increase our dangers at home, by overrating those which we apprehend from abroad. Should we fail in the second point, and neglect to penetrate into all

* See Letter from Stockholm.

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the causes, which combine to bring our present distress upon us, palliative remedies alone will be applied, in the use of which we may very probably expire after a tedious languor, but from which we cannot expect a radical cure.

Convinced therefore, that if we neglect the present moment, if every man does not think, and write, and speak, and act for his country at this time, according to his best talents, and according to the opportunities which he has of exerting them, we shall soon be in every sense a ruined nation.

I confess, that I am impatient, however low my hopes of success run, till some abler pen accepts the invitation, which "the Inquirer into the Reasons of the Conduct of Great Britain" gives to every member of this community, till an inquiry is made, according to the right which he is pleased to allow, into our present state, and into the measures which have led to it. But then this inquiry must be made upon better principles, and with an honester view than he has, who made this, which lies before me: the person, who accepts his invitation, should be one who would blush to follow his example; for he acts the part of an apologist, where he professes to act that of an impartial inquirer: he seems very zealous for the success of the cause which he pleads, and very indifferent what means he employs to procure this success; many things are disguised, many are concealed, and hardly any are represented in their natural and proper light. Fallacy, sophism,

and a puerile declamation, swell the elaborate treatise; but there was a design perhaps, as well as habit, in such a manner of writing upon this occasion, since a bad cause must be defended by such means; and, therefore, by such pens as would disgrace and weaken a good one; since it may possibly appear, upon a fair examination, that the cause he is retained in is none of the best.

If this should appear, I am apt to believe, that those, who set him at work, will not be much concerned; they could not look on this pamphlet as any thing better than a momentary expedient to mislead and inflame. If it has that effect, if it serves to keep up the delusion till all the jobs, which are to be done, are done; the ends which they proposed to themselves are perhaps answered. But if this nation should awaken to a sense of their true interest, and if the British spirit should once more revive among us, it might very well happen, that these persons would have made a faulty reckoning; for surely, after having exercised the justice of the nation, by censuring in one parliament a treaty of peace, which has been approved in another, it will not be thought strange, if we punish, at one time or another, those who have negotiated us out of peace and tranquillity into war and confusion, although the wisdom of the nation should think fit to support, for the present, the measures of these ministers.

The inquirer supposes the whole face of affairs in Europe to have received the great alteration which

which he is so much surprised at, within the space of the last year; but I cannot agree with him, that the turn has been so sudden as he represents it. "The calm hardly to be parallelled by any past prospect," as this great master of style expresses himself by a figure of Hibernian rhetoric, was accompanied, as calms frequently are, by many signs of an approaching storm; which signs did not escape the observation of the sailors, and even passengers in our vessel, though they escaped that of our able pilots, who were, it seems, all that while in a most serene security. The particular evils, which we apprehend at present, were known to our ministers above a year ago; if it be true, as the inquirer affirms, that the treaty of Hanover, and negotiations in consequence of it, are "the steps, which the court of Great "Britain thought fit to take as soon as possible, "after the danger we were in appeared evident "beyond all contradiction." But before the particular danger appeared, the general danger was evident enough. When the treaty of Vienna was made, our ship struck; but we had been sailing among rocks and shoals long before, ever since we quitted our port, and launched out to sea, on the wise errand of convoying other people safe to theirs.

He therefore, who is desirous to make the inquiry proposed, in such a manner as may be of real use to the publick, must take up things much higher than this partial writer was instructed to do. Many things happened during the congress

gress of Cambray, which deserve to be explained; and there are treaties both previous and subsequent to the quadruple alliance, which deserve to be commented upon.

Nay, there seems to be a necessity of going farther back than this reign, or even than this century, if we design to be thoroughly acquainted with the original of our present distress. When we have taken a general survey of the conduct of Britain, with relation to the affairs of Europe, for about two hundred years, we shall come much better prepared to discover our true point of interest; and by observing how we have departed from it, we shall learn how to return to it.

This part I will venture to undertake; and what I shall say upon it may serve at least as an introduction to that work, which, I hope, will be performed by some abler hand.

The foundations of the grandeur of France, and those of the grandeur of the house of Austria, were laid very near at the same period. Ferdinand and Isabella began the latter; and in Charles the fifth their grandson, and almost immediate successor, it was carried up to that exorbitant height, which made Europe tremble under his reign, under that of his son, and upon some occasions even later. The progress which France made was not so rapid, but was perhaps as sure; she shared with her rival the spoils of the house of Burgundy, by the address and vigour of Lewis the eleventh, who not only extended the bounds, and strengthened the frontier of that close

close compact body, whose very figure is an addition to the force of it, but assured it's inward tranquillity better, and rendered that monarchy more formidable, than it had been in the time of his predecessors, when the authority of the prince was less.

The forming of two such powers in Europe made it the interest of all other princes and states, to keep as much as possible a balance between them. And here began that principle of English policy to be established, which, however true and wise in itself, has hardly ever been truly and wisely pursued.

We should take things rather too high, if we went up to the reign of king Henry the seventh, though even there some observations are to be made, which have relation to our present subject.

Frequent and important occasions of acting on this principle presented themselves in the time of Henry the eighth. Some he took, some he neglected, and some he managed ill; for to say the truth, the whole conduct of this prince was a continued course of extravagance, violence, and levity: his vices glared through the best actions of his life. He exercised the tyranny, and practised the bloody precepts of the church of Rome, even while he was delivering us from the papal yoke. His deliberations for peace or war seemed often to have a mixture of humour in them; and his own passions, as well as Wolsey's, made him hold the balance of Europe, if he did hold it, with an uneven hand.

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The reformation, which began in his time in Germany, and which was completed by Edward the sixth, and by queen Elizabeth, in England, gave occasion to a new division of interests; and made it of the utmost importance to the welfare of this nation, not only to preserve a balance between the two great powers of Europe, but to support the protestant cause against them both. The first of these was to be done by throwing as much as the occasion might require of our weight, sometimes into one, and sometimes into the other of these scales; but the latter could be effected by nothing less than a constant adherence to that side, which was for a long time the weakest, and which, I doubt, is so still.

Both these principles were pursued by queen Elizabeth, with the greatest wisdom, and with the greatest success. To illustrate this fully, it would be necessary to run through the annals of her glorious reign. But a few general observations will suffice for our present purpose. When she came to the crown, the nation was divided between two powerful parties, exasperated by religious zeal; Ireland was papist, Scotland was under the immediate influence of France, and the queen of that kingdom, married to the dauphin of France, disputed her title to the crown of England. In short, the surest support she had amidst all these difficulties, beside the firmness of her mind, and the penetration of her understanding, was in Philip the second, whom she disobliged by refusing to make him her husband; and

and who could not fail of being, on many accounts, as he proved to be, her most implacable and dangerous enemy. She kept measures for a while with him, nay, perhaps, with the court of Rome; and soon settled her government, and established her power: her own kingdom was the first and principal object of her care; and she judged very wisely, that, in order to be considerable abroad, she must begin by making herself so at home. Her revenue was administered with the utmost frugality, industry was encouraged, manufactures improved, and commerce extended: she was far from neglecting foreign alliances, but her negotiations were conducted with great art and little expense, and the engagements she took were always necessary, seldom chargeable. She supported the protestant cause in France, with good offices, with loans of money; and upon some pressing occasions with troops. But she never depended on the gratitude of Henry the fourth, and was neither surprised nor unprepared, when he made returns very unworthy of the obligations he had to her. The Dutch could not have sustained their revolt from Spain, nor have formed their commonwealth, without her assistance. She helped them powerfully, but she exacted cautionary towns from them, as a security for her reimbursement, whenever they should be in a condition to pay; and in the mean time as a check, to keep them under the influence and direction of England. By such methods as these, her own country grew rich and flourishing, while she

she not only preserved a balance of power abroad, but contributed extremely to reduce Spain, from being the terrour of Europe, to that low state, into which it fell under the successors of king Philip the second.

The reign of king James the first is not to be read without a mixture of indignation and contempt. He came to the crown with great advantages; but a bad head, and a worse heart, hindered him from improving any of them. He lost the opportunity of uniting the two kingdoms; he suffered his revenue to be ill administered; his ministers were notoriously corrupt, and he himself very profuse.

Instead of assuaging, he fomented disputes by his pedantry; established such principles of government, and raised such a spirit in the clergy, as could hardly fail to produce the terrible effects, which followed in the reign of his son.

Such a management of domestic affairs would have put it out of his power, if it had been his inclination, to act a wiser part in foreign affairs: but he had no such inclination. Twelve years he suffered himself to be amused with the Spanish match; he countenanced at least the popish, and he absolutely neglected the protestant interest, both in France and Germany. Instead of helping the dispositions, which appeared, to take the imperial crown out of the house of Austria, he favoured the cause of that family, and abandoned his own children to the resentment of the emperor and the popish league. When the thirty years

war

war began in 1618, the liberty of Germany, and the whole protestant interest, were in the utmost peril. The sole measures, which he took for the support of either, consisted in simple embassies, ridiculous letters, and languid negotiations.—Queen Elizabeth defeated the ambitious designs of the Spanish branch of the Austrian family; king James favoured those of the German branch of the same family.

Over the succeeding reign, and all that followed, to the restoration of king Charles the second, let us draw a veil.

During this time the decay of the Spanish monarchy increased apace, the liberties of Germany were asserted, and the power of the emperor bounded by the treaties of Westphalia; but another power, that of France, began to rise very fast on the foundations laid long ago. Richelieu and Mazarine had given that crown a great superiority in the affairs of Europe, and the prince who wore it resolved to maintain and augment this superiority, at the expense of all his neighbours.

The attack which Lewis the fourteenth made upon the Low Countries in 1667 showed, both in the manner of it, and in the pretence taken for it, what Europe had to expect from this prince. On this occasion the triple alliance was made; and happy had it been, if the same principles of policy had continued to prevail. But the king who sat on our throne, with better sense and more courage than his grandfather, was at least

least as unfit as he to defend the liberties of Europe, and perhaps more unfit to defend the protestant interest.

King Charles the second joined his councils and his arms to those of France; and when he could not openly assist, he privately abetted the usurpations of that crown. He might, by conforming to the desires of his people, who were in his and their true interest, have had the immortal honour of preserving a balance of power in Europe; but he chose the eternal infamy of helping to destroy this balance; and not content to be the ally of a prince, whose enemy he ought to have been, he condescended to be his instrument, and even his pensioner. This conduct, which took so much strength from that side, which was already too weak, and which added so much to that which was already too strong, established the absolute superiority of France, and left Spain, Germany, Italy, and the Seventeen provinces, nay, and Britain too, in consequence, at her mercy.

This terrible face of things did not mend on the accession of king James the second to the throne. Whatever his politics were, religion would have got the better of them. Bigotry must have cemented a close union between him and the king of France, who was alone able and willing to assist him in the work he had undertaken at home. But the greatness of our danger, as it sometimes happens, saved us; and in saving us, saved all Europe. The revolution in our government caused

caused a total change in our conduct. A prince, who had been long at the head of a weak but resolute opposition to France, mounted our throne; and the principles of maintaining a balance between the great powers of Europe, and of supporting the protestant interest, came once more into fashion in this kingdom, after having been for near a century either neglected or acted against.

The body of the nation resumed these principles with warmth, and has supported them ever since with unparallelled spirit and vigour. But let it be said without offence, since it may be said with truth, and since it is necessary that it should be said upon this occasion, we have not pursued them with as much wisdom as zeal. If we have erred in our politics since the revolution, it is sure we have erred on the right side. But errours on the right side are errours still, and may, in time, prove as fatal as errours on the other; and are, in one respect at least, more dangerous, as they are less attended to at first, or guarded against.

Between all extremes there is a certain middle point, which men of genius perceive, and to which men of honour adhere in private and in public life.

Thus avarice and prodigality are at an immense distance; but there is a space marked out by virtue between them, where frugality and generosity reside together. Thus again, to abandon those, whom it is our interest to support, is an

excess of folly; and to support the interests of other people, to the ruin of our own, is an excess of folly likewise. But there are lines described by prudence, between these two excesses, within which our common interests meet, and may proceed together.

It would be an invidious as well as tedious task, to go through all the instances, which might be produced; wherein we have, under pretence of preserving a balance of power in Europe, gratified the passions of particular men, and served the turns of private interest, till we have rendered that principle, in a reasonable pursuit of which our safety and our glory consist, the occasion of real danger to the interest, and of reproach to the wisdom of our nation. A few of these instances will suffice to deduce the progress of our mistaken policy, to evince the truth of what has been advanced in general, and to fix the application of the whole to the present conjuncture; wherein I apprehend, that we are about to pay the price not only of late errours, but a long series of errours.

The war, which began in 1688, was no doubt a very necessary war. It was necessary to extinguish the rebellion in Scotland; it was necessary to reduce Ireland; it was necessary to assert the new establishment of our government. These were our immediate interests; but we had remote interests likewise concerned, which were of themselves sufficient to engage us to enter, at least as allies and friends, into the war. The empire was

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in danger by the taking of Philipsburgh, and other enterprises of the French; and Holland lay once more open to their invasions, by the seizing of Bonne. In the course of this war, Ireland was reduced; all the efforts against the government in England and Scotland were defeated; and, by the peace, France acknowledged king William.

As unfortunate as we had been on the Rhine and in Flanders, every thing, which the French had taken in the course of the war from our allies, was restored at Ryswick; and Luxembourgh, which France had usurped before the war, was likewise given up. Thus far all was well. The points, which England contended for, were carried: and our allies recovered by treaty more than they had lost by war.

If a common guaranty of this treaty had been entered into as soon as those powers acceded, who refused to sign when England and Holland did, the tranquillity of Europe would have been better secured than it was at this time, or at the peace of Nimeguen: at least England would have engaged, as far as it became her to do, even upon the principle of maintaining the balance of power, and no farther.

But, instead of taking this step, we took another, which proved fatal in it's consequences. The death of Charles the second, king of Spain, without children, was then in prospect. The pretensions of France were known, and it's power had been lately felt. Whenever the case should

happen, a war seemed to be unavoidable. But this war must have been made by France alone, for the conquest of the Spanish monarchy; which, as powerful as we then thought her, and as insolent as she really was, we should not have engaged in lightly. Neither could she have supported it, if she had, since even with Spain on her side, she could not have supported the last, if the mines of Peru had not been unaccountably left open to her.

On the apprehension, however, of such a war, and on the specious pretence of preserving a balance of power in Europe, the partition treaties were made; that is, without the knowledge of the king of Spain, we disposed of his inheritance; without the consent of the emperor, and in concert with his adverse party, we settled the rights contested between the house of Austria and Bourbon; and we engaged to make this partition good by arms.

I do not enter into the reasons for and against this treaty, which may be drawn from the particular stipulations contained in it, but content myself to observe, in general, what impolitick measures we were at this period betrayed into, by an overweening desire to preserve the balance of power; and how much reason we have to be always on our guard against errours of this kind, since a prince, whom genius and experience had rendered the greatest man of his age, was not exempt from them, but drew both England and Holland fatally into them.

Whenever

Whenever this balance is in real danger by the exorbitant growth of one power, or by the union of more, other princes and states will be alarmed of course. All of them ought, and most of them will take measures for their common security. But the wise councils among them will, upon every such occasion, proportion their measures, and the engagements they enter into, not according to the nature of the danger considered generally, but according to the immediate or remote relation, which it has to each of them; and according to the strength, situation, or any other circumstance, which may be peculiar to each of them.

To do otherwise, would be to lose sight of our own particular interest in the pursuit of a common interest. It would be nothing better than setting up for the Don Quixotes of the world, and engage to fight the battles of all mankind. The state, which keeps it's own particular interest constantly in view, has an invariable rule to go by; and this rule will direct and limit all it's proceedings in foreign affairs; so that such a state will frequently take no share, and frequently a small share in the disputes of it's neighbours, and will never exert it's whole strength, but when it's whole is at stake. But a state, who neglects to do this, has no rule at all to go by, and must fight to negotiate, and negotiate to fight again, as long as it is a state; because, as long as it is a state, there will be disputes among it's neighbours, and some of these will prevail at one

time, and some at another, in the perpetual flux and reflux of human affairs.

If the kings of France and Spain, and the emperor, had made an agreement among themselves, about the succession to the dominions of Spain, consistent with the common interest of Europe, and considering the partiality which the court of Spain had, at that time, for the house of Austria, there was little room to fear, that such an agreement would have been too favourable to the house of Bourbon. If any such partition had been made, I say, no objection would have remained, either as to the right or manner of making it, and we might have escaped a war. If these princes had done nothing of this kind, we might have been engaged upon the king of Spain's death, as I said before, in a defensive war, for preserving the dominions of our old allies, and the liberties of Europe, against the usurpations of our ancient enemy. But instead of waiting to be auxiliaries in a defensive war, we put ourselves under a necessity of being principals in an offensive one; and by affecting to secure the balance of power, when we had neither call nor right to meddle, we reduced our affairs to this absurd alternative, that we must either make an offensive war as principals, against the emperor and Spain, in order to conquer for France, which was equally impolitic and unjust, or against France and Spain, in order to conquer for the emperor, under the greatest disadvantages possible; which happened to be the case.

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The partition treaties forced the king of Spain to make a will in favour of the house of Bourbon; and the Spaniards threw themselves into the arms of France, to prevent the dismemberment of their monarchy.

Thus was the balance of power lost by our meddling where he had nothing to do, even before it could have been in danger, if we had not meddled at all. We lost it, and the emperor knew that we must restore it for our own sakes, which could be done no otherwise than by conquering for him; and this he left us to do the best we could. While we fought his battles, he lent us the Austrian title, the person of his son, the present emperor, and little else. We neglected every thing, and sacrificed every thing in the prosecution of this quarrel. But the imperial councils were so far from neglecting any thing, or sacrificing any thing to it, that they seemed wholly taken up for some years in settling the affairs of Hungary to their satisfaction; and they sacrificed to an idle refinement in politicks the greatest opportunity which we ever had, or must ever hope to have; I mean that of destroying the naval force of France, by the taking of Toulon. This they deliberately and almost avowedly hindered.

If ever people were called upon to think of their own immediate interests, we were so at this time. Whether we could then have put an end to the expensive war we were engaged in for the house of Austria, in a manner consistent with the

public interest of Europe, I am not able to determine. Certain it is in fact, that far from entertaining any such thoughts, we redoubled our spirit and our efforts in the prosecution of the war. As we acquired new allies, we enlarged our engagements; and as we obtained new victories, we extended our views. The grand alliance formed by king William, for restoring a balance of power in Europe, proposed no other objects than sufficient barriers, security to trade, and reasonable satisfaction to the house of Austria*. These were thought, by that great prince, all the points necessary to be contended for. But, instead of confining ourselves to so narrow a plan, we judged that the balance of power could not be effectually restored, unless we wrested the whole Spanish monarchy from the house of Bourbon, to give it to the house of Austria. For this prize we fought, and fought with as little regard to all other interests, as if we had defended our own altars, and our own houses.

Must we not acknowledge, upon this occasion, sir, the shortness of human foresight? The very measure which we pursued at so great expense of blood and treasure (because nothing less could secure the balance of power in Europe, and even the trade of this kingdom, and the protestant succession, against the invasions of France and the pretender) that very measure would, it seems, have put all these into the utmost peril.

If we had succeeded in our attempts to set the

* Vide G. Al. Art. 8.

crown

crown of Spain on the head of the present emperor, and his brother the emperor Joseph had lived, would our danger from the union of these two brothers not have been at least as great as that which is apprehended from the union of the present emperor, and of the present king of Spain, rivals almost from their cradles, and by a long course of opposition, such inveterate enemies, that they could hardly be kept, as the Inquirer assures us, " within the bounds of common de- " cency towards one another, by all the address " of two powerful mediators in a public treaty?" Might not the same address, that threw these enemies into one another's arms (for it will appear they did not run thither so unaccountably) and united them in designs destructive to the commerce and rights of other nations, have succeeded equally well between the two brothers, especially since, in this case, there would have been but half the work to do? The union would have been formed to our hands, and our address could only have been shown, in giving such proper provocations, as might have inspired the designs.

Would Charles have been less favourable to the trade of his brother's subjects, at any place in the Austrian dominions, than Philip shows himself to the trade of the subjects of Charles? Would Joseph not have concurred to assist his brother to regain Gibraltar, and the island of Minorca, at least, as zealously as we can suppose that Charles concurs to assist Philip, either by good offices, or, if you please, to have it so, by force of arms?

arms? Would not a league between the two brothers have been as much a popish league as that which we are so much alarmed at, between the surviving brother and the present king of Spain? Would not the first have made use of the pretender, as the latter is said to do, and as every prince or state, with whom we happen to be at variance, may be provoked to do? In short, I may safely challenge the author of the Inquiry, as great a casuist as he is, to show any difference between the two cases which I have compared together, except this, that we might have been exposed to greater dangers from that settlement of Europe, which we fought to bring about, than we are, or can probably be exposed to, from that which we were so solicitous to prevent. But the case is still stronger than I have put it. For even after the death of the emperor Joseph, his present imperial majesty continued his claim to the whole Spanish monarchy; and you, and I, and many of us, continued to support his claim, and opposed with all force the negotiations of peace, which were begun upon a different principle. Happily we failed of success. The many, who remonstrated, "That we were hastening apace to make "him a power too great and too formidable; and "that we should find in him, at last, the enemy "we then dreaded only in another," prevailed. Had they not, in what a condition should we have been at this time? Would the emperor have been more grateful, or less powerful, with the crown of Spain and the Indies, added to so many others?

If

If the union between him and the king of Spain is so formidable to us, how much more reason should we have had to apprehend the consequences to our trade, and in the end, to our liberties and our religion themselves, if these divided powers had been united in the same ungrateful person, as it is the mode at present to call the emperor?

If Don Carlos should marry the eldest archduchess, if the emperor should die without issue male, if the king of France should die without issue male, if the prince of Asturias should die without issue male, and the princes of the blood in France and Spain should not support the validity of the renunciations, all which is within the bounds of possibility, "Don Carlos may be at "once emperor, king of France, and king of "Spain; and have the vast strength and riches of "all these powers united and centred in him." This terrible object stares our speculative Inquirer in the face, and disturbs his head. It disturbs, very probably, those excellent heads, who set him a scribbling, who can see so far into futurity at present; and who, not very long ago, were unable to discern the nearest and most probable events. Let us consider now, what consequence of this kind might have happened, if, for securing a balance of power in Europe, the present emperor had been likewise king of Spain. If then the king of France, instead of marrying the daughter of Stanislaus, had married the eldest daughter of the emperor, which surely had been within the bounds of possibility, there would remain but one chance

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at this time, viz. the emperor having a son, to save us from the combination of such a power, as would in reality form what we commonly, though improperly, call universal monarchy; since there would be nothing else, which could hinder Lewis the fifteenth, from being king of France, of Spain, and of the West Indies, master of all the Austrian dominions, and, by consequence, emperor. The truth I would inculcate by what I have said is this, that as the partition treaty threw too much weight into the scale of Bourbon, to the destruction of the balance of power in Europe; so the necessary consequence of the war we made to restore this balance must have been, if we had succeeded according to our desires, to destroy it again, by throwing too much weight into the scale of Austria. This has been proved by the event, and the Inquirer demonstrates it, or he demonstrates nothing.

As far, therefore, as we have brought this deduction, that is, to the end of the last war, it is manifest that the notion of preserving a balance of power in Europe has, for the reasons touched upon above, and which every man will extend in his own thoughts, proved to us like an ignis fatuus; in the pursuit of which we have been led from difficulty to difficulty, and from danger to danger.

If we inquire, whether the treaties of Utrecht and Baden did afford us an opportunity of correcting our errours, and of profiting by our experience, it will be found that they did; since all the points,

points, which had been in contest, were then settled, and this settlement acquiesced in by all the parties to the war, except the emperor, who kept up still his claim against Philip the fifth.

But the keeping up this claim could not have endangered the publick tranquillity. He was unable to attack Spain for want of a maritime force, or even Sicily, which was covered besides by the guaranty of the neutrality of Italy; and this neutrality served likewise to hinder Spain from attacking him. There might have been a war of the pen, and there could have been no other between them.

At the worst, if the king of Spain had invaded any part of Italy, the guarantees of the neutrality might easily have prevented such an attempt; and in so doing they would have observed the treaties, and kept the peace, far from breaking either one or the other.

In such a state of foreign affairs, we had certainly an opportunity of looking carefully after our own. The king of Spain had no pretence to ask for any alteration in the settlement so lately established with his own consent; and the emperor could not have complained of his majesty for observing treaties, which he would not have made, but which he found made; nor for refusing to enter into a new war on this account.

Whether we improved this opportunity, or not, what our present condition is, and by what steps we have been reduced to it, I leave to the inquiry of some person more capable than myself. Let it suffice,

suffice, that I have endeavoured to remove some delusions, which have affected even men of the best understandings, and the best intentions; and to prepare the minds of my countrymen to consider, at this critical point of time, what our national interest really is, without being biassed in their judgments by what they may have thought of it on any former occasions.

I am,

Most noble Sir,

Your honour's

most devoted servant,

THE OCCASIONAL WRITER.

February 3,
1726-7.

POSTSCRIPT.

JUST after I had sent these sheets to the press, a paper, entitled, "A letter to the Occasional "Writer," was brought to me. I have read this stiff pedantic piece, with more attention than it deserves, though I read it cursorily; and notwithstanding the pains which the author takes to pass for you, I am ready to acquit you of the scandal. You would certainly have writ better, and your pen at least would not have appeared so near akin to that of the Craftsman Extraordinary.

Who this author supposes the Occasional Writer to be, I cannot guess. Such a wretch as he describes is, I believe, to be found no where, nor even such an image of guilt and misery any where, except in the horrours of his own mind. I shall therefore, with a decent contempt for this scurrilous scribbler, and without any concern about his imaginary correspondent, continue these inoffensive letters, in great tranquillity and sedateness, as often as occasion invites me, or as I find myself in the humour.

THE

OCCASIONAL WRITER.

NUMBER III.

To the Same.

— Quis te, juvenum confidentissime, nostras
Jussit adire domos? Quidve hinc petis? inquit. At ille,
Scis Proteu, scis ipse; neque est te fallere cuiquam. VIRG.

Most Noble Sir,

WHEN I writ the postscript to my last letter, I believed firmly, that the answer to the Occasional Writer was neither writ by you, nor published by your order. Many considerations determined me to this opinion. For instance: I could not think, that in order to vent yourself in a fit of railing, you would draw a picture out of your own imagination, which cannot pass for that of the person who writ to you, even in the low and vile character he assumed, and which you will hardly venture to own that you meant to be the resemblance of any man in Britain. I could not persuade myself that you would give occasion, as I apprehend very much that you may have done, to the drawing of another picture after the life, which no one will mistake,

mistake, and which you will not be curious to place in your collection of paintings. I have, with the rest of mankind, a great regard for some of your friends; but I have, with the rest of mankind likewise, a great regard for your particular enemies, among whom it seemed impossible to me that you, who know them so well, should presume to find either slaves, or criminals, or insolvent debtors. I dare affirm, that there is not one of them, who ever "mortgaged his estate for more "than it's value, or reduced himself near the ne-"cessity of living by contribution."

These are some of the motives which induced me to acquit you of the scandal, as I then thought it, of writing this paper. But, upon better information, and farther reflection, I have changed my opinion; and I see nothing inconsistent with my respect for you, in believing that you did write it.

As great an advantage as it is in all the affairs of life for a man to keep his temper, it is often excusable, and perhaps sometimes even praiseworthy, to lose it. When a minister is contradicted in matters relating to his administration, and when busy people shall presume to ask his reasons, instead of submitting to his authority, can we wonder if his passion transports him into rhodomontades, and if he behaves himself a little wildly? But when the virtue of a minister like you, whose whole life has been one bright example of publick and private virtue, shall be suspected, so far as to be tempted to passion; who can

refuse him even applause, if his generous soul, transported with a just indignation, breathes forth such expressions, as might, upon a less occasion, pass for indecent ribaldry?

This was your case, most noble sir, in the trial which I presumed lately to make, with too much boldness perhaps, but surely with a very good design. A man writes to you from his garret, describes himself as a prostitute scribbler, and offers you the service of his pen: this, and this alone, appears to you; upon which a noble indignation seizes you, and you strike boldly, though you strike in the dark. There is really somewhat fine in this sally of resentment, and it confirms, in the highest degree, the sentiments I have long entertained of your integrity, of your ability, and of a certain grace which accompanies and gives a lustre to every part of your conduct.

The share I have had in this adventure affords me great satisfaction. Your anger fell on a feigned character, and hurts me not; but the honour of having drawn an answer from a first minister, and an answer in print, accrues to me, and is such a one, as the greatest of our weekly authors could never boast.

Give me leave therefore to be transported in my turn, but to be transported with joy, and to insert an abstract of your answer in this paper, as Balzac placed at the head of his works a letter from the cardinal de Richlieu. I consult my own honour, it must be confessed, in doing this; but I consider still more that just applause and admi-

ration, which I, with the rest of the world, am obliged on this occasion to give you.

To those parts of the Occasional Writer's letter, which show that you are at this juncture in want of such services as the scoundrel he personated might be fit to do, you make no reply. The want you seem to admit, but the offer of service you reject: let the publick hear in what manner.

ABSTRACT of the M———r's ANSWER to The Occasional Writer.

Pag. 1. "THOUGH you have not signed "your name, I know you. Because a man who "is without all principles of honesty, who in no "one thing can be relied upon, a betrayer of "his friend, a traitor to his prince, an enemy to "his country, a perjured, ungrateful, unfaithful "rascal, must be you; one who is a composition "of all these, can be only you.

Pag. 2. "You are an infamous fellow, who "make a reputation of doing mischief; and He-"rostratus and Nero were not greater villains "than you.

"You are of so profligate a character, that in "your prosperity no body envied you, and in your "disgrace no body pities you.

"You were in the interest of France, and of "the pope, as hath appeared by your writings, "and you went out of the way to save yourself "from the gallows.

Pag. 3. " You are a fellow who have no con-
" science at all, or a damnable complying one:
" and if you would lend it to me, it would be of
" no use to me.

" You have no abilities; you are an emanci-
" pated slave, a proscribed criminal, and an in-
" solvent debtor: and I am not in such a despe-
" rate forlorn condition, to employ a fellow who
" hath no talents.

Pag. 4. " You have been a traitor, and should
" be used like one. And I love my master so
" well, that I will never advise him to use you,
" lest you should jostle me out of my employment.

" The majority are of my opinion. One side
" fails at you, the other dislikes you; and that
" Palinurus would deserve to be drowned indeed,
" who let you have the rudder, if he could help
" it.

Pag. 5. " I do not value what you or your com-
" pany say of me; neither am I to be frighted
" with a parliamentary scrutiny. You rail at me,
" because you envy me; and I despise all that a
" man in the impotence of disgrace can do against
" me, who could never terrify me in the zenith of
" his power."

Then follow these admirable arguments.

Pag. 6, 7, 8. " I. You may talk what you will
" of France, Spain, and the emperor, power is
" fluctuating, and perhaps I know who is Britain's
" enemy as well as another. II. Though we did
" lend the emperor a helping hand, we are not to
" let him do what he pleases; and when we set

" him

" him up, it was good politics, and now it is " equally good to take him down. III. I do not " question but we shall humble him. IV. I must " tell you plainly, you and I, as to foreign affairs, " differ widely in opinion. V. When our neigh- " bours grow saucy and encroaching, it is high " time to look about us, and not to be taken " napping. VI. I know you like the emperor, " because he is like yourself in ingratitude; and " you hate our friend France, because you were " well received there.

" If any body says any thing of me, pray tell " them ALL THESE THINGS. But for all " that, I will not give you an employment.

" I know you to be so hot-headed, that when " you have read this, you will vent all your malice " against me. But I do not value it; for I " would rather have you my enemy than my " friend.

" Change your names, and be as abusive and " scurrilous as you please, I shall find you out. " I am Aristæus; you are Proteus. You may " change to a flame, a lion, a bull, or a bear, I " shall know you, baffle you, conquer you, and " contemn you. All your opposition will redound " to my honour and glory. And so, sir, I scorn " your proffered services. Sir,

" Your most, &c."

How great! how free! how bold! how generous! Well may those, who have the honour of a near approach to you, extol the noble openness

of your nature, which displays itself in this uncommon manner; and think that temper in a statesman truly admirable, which loses itself so gloriously. Did ever minister speak so plainly, or lay himself so open to any man, and especially to such a man as you supposed yourself writing to at that time? Far from discovering hatred and contempt of such wretches, persons in your situation have generally encouraged, and even feared them. Nay, they have sometimes aspired to be themselves of that class; and Seneca's Apocolocynthosis upon Claudius is not the sole instance of ministers, who have dipped their pens in satire, to rail at the memory of a dead prince.

But now, after this honourable declaration which you have made, after this great example which you have given, let every mercenary scribbler, every tool of secret service, tremble and despair. Long may you live, most noble sir, the just model of a minister, who scorns the assistance of flattery, falshood, artifice, or corruption.

I have devoted myself to your service, and shall certainly attend you through every stage of your fortune: as long as we both draw vital air, you shall feel the effects of my zeal in your cause, and I promise you very solemnly, that from henceforward I will live for no other purpose; so that I am persuaded you will hear with pleasure the three engagements, which I think it proper to take with the publick and with you.

The first is, that my pen shall constantly preserve decency and good manners, and shall never be

be stained with any abuse of particular persons. I will chastise vice, I will expose folly, and I will combat errour, wherever I find them. But I will never touch upon any unalterable defects in figure, in family, in birth, in any kind whatsoever; much less will I allow myself to hint at any particular scandal, or even to mention any real misfortune, which may equally befall the best and the worst of men; unless I am forced by my subject to it, and unless I can soften the evil by the very manner of recalling it to memory. To attack a vice, a folly, or an errour, is correction. To attack the person is defamation. He who writes an invective, does a silly thing, because he loses his end; and the wisest of men has said, "he that uttereth "slander is a fool." Even truth loses it's force in an invective, as it does in a panegyrick; in one, it is thrown into the lump with malice, in the other, with flattery; and he who is guilty of the first, that is, he who writes against the man, not against his crimes, his follies, or his errours, seldom proves any thing more than his own envy, and the other's superiority. To conclude this head, he, who writes an invective, does a base and wicked thing; because his design is to disturb the quiet, and destroy the peace of another man, but not to reform him, or to serve the publick. The pen of such a writer, like one of those scourges, of which the profound Meibomius has writ so learnedly, while it chastises the person, serves only to provoke the vice.

The second obligation, which I lay myself under,

and which equally becomes a man who writes in the cause of truth, is that of intire disinterestedness.

I know the generosity of your nature, I know what places and pensions have been the rewards of some very mean performances in verse and prose; and that R. R. state-writer, of whom we are obliged to ask blessing, is most certainly not at the head of our profession. These examples, and a due consideration of the importance of my services, teach me sufficiently what expectations I might entertain, without any risk of a disappointment. But I have neither ambition of this kind, nor avarice. My fortune is above wanting the necessaries, and my philosophy above wanting the superfluities of life. I therefore discharge you from all obligation of rewarding my services; and I wish, for the sake of your ease, your honour, and your safety, my example was likely to be followed.

When we behold a great man among a crowd of disinterested friends, we know that they follow his virtues, and his merit; when we hear an orator bring over the majority of an unprejudiced audience to his opinion, we must impute it to the force of his eloquence. But surely it is as rare for a minister to have disinterested friends, as an unprejudiced audience; so that a number of followers can be no proof of his personal virtues, or a majority of his eloquence.

The ancients placed great happiness in their inemptæ dapes; I would rather you should place

yours

yours in the inempti amici. But, alas! sir, as amiable as you are, this happiness will hardly fall to your lot, in our degenerate age; and I know not whether, to maintain your power, you may not be forced to tarnish the lustre of your glorious administration. The king has indeed the hearts of the people; his service will always be supported by a national concurrence, because his views are always directed to the national good. This part is easy and secure, but when once men come to distinguish between the king's service and yours, there will arise another part not so easy nor secure. You have blended them pretty artfully together hitherto, but I doubt the discrimination is at hand. When that comes, you will be reduced to a melancholy alternative; which I beg you to think of, and to prepare for. To quit your power and your pretensions, and to quit them before you have established in your room that dear brother of yours, who does you so much service at home, by tiring the ****, and the nation so much honour abroad by diverting the C*** of F***, would indeed be hard. But, on the other hand, be pleased to consider that this nation has gone very far into corruption already; that there is a point of corruption, to which no nation can arrive and recover their liberties, if they are lost; or even preserve them, if they are not lost, according to Machiavel's observation; and that whoever is the instrument of plunging his country irretrievably into this abyss, I use a word you seem fond of, will fall into a terrible abyss himself,

himself, and have no superiority any where, but where the briber stands before the bribed, as the devil stands before the sinner.

You see, sir, how my zeal transports me, and carries me upon the least hint, which may be improved to your honour or service, even out of my subject. I return to it, and the third engagement, which I take, is to observe a strict impartiality.

To do otherwise, would be to act contrary to my nature, and to the dictates of my reason. I have a natural abhorrence of injustice; and I considered, when I first drew my pen, in how particular a manner it behoves us political writers to be on our guard against falling into any partiality. The judge is circumscribed by forms, to the observance of which he is bound; he has the law open before him; the parties, on whom he sits in judgment, are generally indifferent to him, and far from having any of his passions awakened, the whole man is sometimes prone to sleep. When there is room to suspect a judge of partiality in a particular case, it is agreeable to the practice of some countries, that he should decline presiding at the trial, or be obliged to withdraw at the requisition of the party. With all these, and many other precautions which wise constitutions have established, it is neither easy nor safe for the venerable sages of the law to exercise partiality. But we political writers are not under the same restraints, and are exposed to strong temptations. No forms are prescribed to regulate our proceedings;

ings; no particular laws, adapted to the particular cases which may occur, lie open before us. The general law of reason is the only rule we have to follow; the application of this rule requires the most nice exactness, and we are obliged to make this application often, in pronouncing judgment on men and things, when we are the most warmly engaged in those civil contests, which the duty of our profession exposes us to, and even when our tempers are ruffled by opposition. From which consideration, the difficulty of preserving a strict impartiality may evidently appear: give me leave, however, to illustrate this matter a little farther.

In the Athenian commonwealth, the citizen who took no side was deemed indifferent to the publick good, and was branded for his infamous neutrality. Now, if such an obligation as this lay upon every private citizen in that democratical government, it is certain, that we publick persons, at least, ought to think ourselves under the same obligation, even in this limited monarchy of ours. Indifference must be a crime in us, to be ranked but one degree below treachery; for deserting the commonwealth is next to betraying it. Our duty must oblige us in all publick disputes to take the best side, and to espouse it with warmth: this warmth will beget warmth; for you know, sir, that the worst side is not always the worst defended. Provocations will multiply daily, and we may be attacked in the most sensible parts. You, sir, yourself

yourself may for aught I know be insulted, and your spotless character may be defiled by some saucy scribbler: in this licentious age, nothing is held sacred; under the specious pretence of free-thinking, the providence, and the very being of God, have been openly called in question, and reflections on your administration may possibly steal into the world.

Suppose, for a moment, that any thing so monstrous as this should happen, that you should be directly inveighed against, or, which perhaps is more poignant, ironically commended; and then consider how difficult it would be for a professed admirer of you, heated in the contest, to keep his temper, and to preserve his impartiality: you must agree with me, the task would be extremely difficult.

But I am sure you will agree likewise, that, as difficult as it would be, a conscientious man ought to impose it upon himself.

The ill effects of partiality in us political writers, when it carries us to give unjust and false representations of men and things, will not be thought of little moment by you, who labour for fame, and expect a great part of your reward from posterity, as posterity is to receive a great part of the advantages, which your wise and virtuous administration procures, in "reviving, supporting, "and extending credit, in opening so comfortable "a prospect of the payment of our debts, in "strengthening us abroad by so many beneficial

"alliances,

" alliances, and above all in amending our morals, " by the total discouragement of every kind of ar- " tifice and corruption."

The civil magistrate may give away a man's estate, or take away his life; but we can do, and often have done more; we set the general characters and particular actions of men in what light we please, and deliver them down, sometimes very unjustly, under the most amiable or the most hateful colours to future ages: for the rash sentence we pronounce is eagerly received, and as eagerly transmitted by those who are animated with the same passion.

In this manner are unjust, and even false representations established. They become the general opinion of mankind, and then, although our works should grow out of date as fast as a Gazette, which it must be confessed happens very frequently: yet still the mischief is done, the historian perpetuates the slander which the politician broached, and triumphs in the contemporary authority, upon which he writes to serve the present turn, or to satisfy resentment of party; such persons as have no other crime but that of differing in opinion from us, and such events as have no other demerit but our dislike of the persons who bring them about, are loaded with infamy. Posterity is imposed upon as well as the present age, and the children continue the fathers vengeance, without having the fathers provocation.

This faint sketch of some consequences that follow the partiality of political writers, and of the danger

danger wherein we all stand of being transported by our own passions, or hurried by those of other people, so far to be answerable for such consequences, may suffice to show how much reason there is for a man who undertakes the career I am entering upon, to be watchful over himself, and to lay himself under as strong a restraint as I do by this solemn engagement.

Indeed, as the world goes, it is only by running into extremes, that a state-writer can effectually please his party, or serve himself; the eye of party sees nothing but quite white, or quite black, observes no degrees between them, and can distinguish no middle colour that partakes of both. The greatest genius in writing may be exposed to share the fate of the greatest genie in painting. Annibal Caracci, who followed nature and truth with the utmost exactness, found his noblest works discountenanced and neglected. He thereupon advised Guido and Caravaggio, his two favourite scholars, to take quite another manner, to trace nothing faithfully, but to outrage all they represented, the one by painting in the darkest, and the other in the lightest manner. By these means both of them were sure of admirers, and both of them grew rich.

To imitate these painters, is all our party-writers aim at; whether their manner be black or white, satire or panegyrick, no matter. Their principle is to lay their colours on thick, and to be equally in an extreme. But I hope, for my own part, to prove that I am not of this number.

On

On the contrary, I will endeavour to excel in a much more difficult way, in softenings and middle teints; and yet by these to form a manner so strong, as shall be sufficient for my own reputation, and for your service. To you, who have so fine a taste in painting, this attempt will, I flatter myself, be agreeable, and will secure the continuance of your favour to,

Most noble Sir,

Your honour's

most devoted servant,

THE OCCASIONAL WRITER.

February 13,
1726-7.

END OF VOL. I.

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